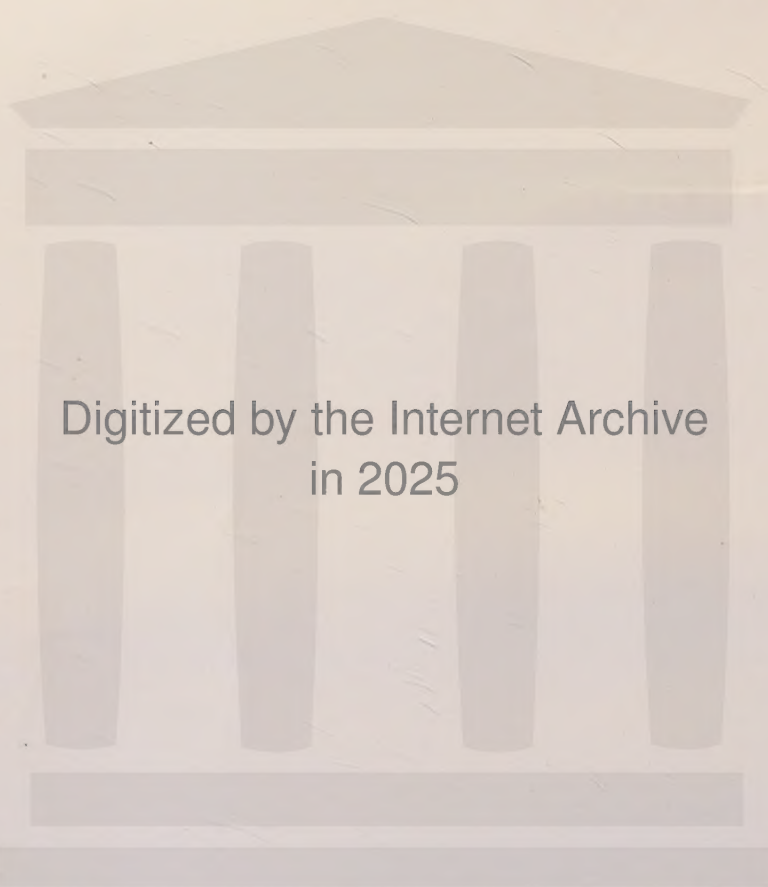










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SUPPLEMENT.

TO THE

MESSAGES AND PAPERS
OF THE PRESIDENTS

COVERING THE FIRST TERM OF

WOODROW WILSON

MARCH 4, 1913, TO MARCH 4, 1917

WITH INDEX

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1917

THE ADMINISTRATION OF WOODROW WILSON

FIRST TERM

President Wilson assumed the office of chief executive of the United States with the support of a Democratic Congress. His first concern was to take an introspective view of the nation's politics. He believed that the ideal Government he loved so well had been distorted to the service of private and selfish purposes, and that the common democracy of the people had been forgotten in the heedless hurry to be great. He recalled the policy of the fathers, who meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, and the high standards of justice and fair play set up in the beginning of the republic. The causes of deviation from the original and true course seemed to him apparent, and duty pointed out the path of restoration. Mr. Wilson came not into power as a pessimist. He saw the wonderful achievements of the time and the tremendous forces constantly at work for national betterment. He felt that an awakening public conscience had chosen him to be a guide.

Calling Congress in extra session early in April, following his inauguration, he reminded his party of the duty laid upon it by the recent elections and counselled prompt performance of pledges, specific or implied, that there might be no suspense or uncertainty, with consequent disturbance of economic conditions.

In his verbal address before a joint session of the two houses, Wilson revived the custom of Washington and John Adams, in abeyance since the days of Jefferson, of appearing in person, instead of "hailing Congress from some isolated island of jealous power."

Tariff revision was the chief point of contention between the leading political parties. Tariff reform was the sole object of the special address, and the response was the passage of the Underwood bill, which had been outlined in the preceding Congress, but now, with executive sanction, became law less than a year after the election. This law is significant in that it reverses the tariff policy of half a century. Mr. Underwood stated that the average duty under the new law would be

26 per cent, the lowest imposed in seventy-five years. The free list included many articles of food and raw materials of manufacture.

The tariff law also carried an income tax feature, enacted in accordance with authority conferred by the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution; and it modified the corporation tax of the preceding administration.

When the tariff act was fairly under way and assured of success Mr. Wilson urged immediate passage of a currency law, elastically responsive to expanding and contracting credits of everyday business. The result was the Federal Reserve Banking Law, which decentralized credit by establishing twelve regional reserve banks under Government control.

His advocacy of rural credits resulted in the passage later of the Farm Loan Bank Act.

Wilson's first annual message announced the assent of thirty-one nations to the peace plan proposed by Secretary of State Bryan, and called attention to the chaotic condition of Mexico.

Extension of citizenship to Porto Ricans, self-government for Hawaii, and ultimate independence for the Philippines summarize his policy toward our insular possessions.

Development of the resources of Alaska, with a Government system of railways and public leasing of coal fields was inaugurated.

Labor legislation was early urged for the extension of the powers of the Bureau of Mines, provision for an effective employers' liability law for railroads, and measures to alleviate the condition of American seamen.

The enactment of the Clayton anti-trust laws and the creation of the Federal Trade Commission were in accord with the President's anti-trust programme.

Wilson's dominating influence over Congress was first decisively shown by the repeal of the clause in the Panama Canal Act exempting American coastwise vessels from payment of tolls. Great Britain claimed such exemption was a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. The Democratic platform, upon which the President and a majority of Congress were elected, sanctioned the exemption, and its repeal was opposed by such powerful leaders as Speaker Clark and Mr. Underwood in the House, and Senators Chamberlain, Jones, O'Gorman and Poindexter, and by Ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft before the public. Nevertheless, through executive persistence, Mr. Wilson had the pleasure of signing the repeal bill, June 15, 1914.

The ship-purchase bill, strictly an administrative measure, encountered powerful opposition upon its introduction in the first session of the Sixty-third Congress, but the President's determination scored a victory in its signature September 7, 1916.

Further evidence of Wilson's power over Congress was seen in the passage of the eight-hour law for railway operatives, who had threatened a general strike to carry their point. He urged immediate legislation requiring interstate railroads to grant the demands of the labor organizations before the day they had set for the strike. Under executive pressure the Adamson law was passed in time to prevent a tie-up of the railways before the election of 1916.

For an administration so peacefully begun, Wilson's first term ended in more turbulence than that of any other President since Lincoln. The first cloud upon the horizon he discerned was the Mexican revolution, which loudly cried for action. While American lives were taken, American property destroyed, and the American flag insulted, he resolutely adhered to his policy of watchful waiting, save the impulsive occupation of Vera Cruz, the later mobilization on the border, and the expeditionary pursuit of Villa. No hint of the conflicting emotions in his heart escaped, except the declaration that it was "just as hard to do your duty when men are sneering at you as when they are shooting at you." In this brief sentence he showed how deeply he felt the responsibility of his position.

The resignation of Secretary of State Bryan, chief advisor to the President, appeared to be an outburst of smouldering conflict in the counsels of the Cabinet.

Dismissal of the Austrian Ambassador, after patient resistance to public clamor for months,—and finally the ending of diplomatic relations with Germany by the expulsion of Ambassador von Bernstorff,—and the defensive arming of merchant ships indicated the gradual fading away of the President's cherished ideals of the peaceful mission of America among the war-torn nations of the world.

With the outbreak of the war in Europe, Wilson proclaimed the neutrality of the United States. The establishment of war zones in European waters and the consequent loss of American and other neutral lives and property led Wilson to make strong protests, particularly to Germany, against the ruthless methods of submarine warfare. These protests caused a relaxation by Germany of extreme measures for a year, and upon resumption of relentless U-boat warfare, he dismissed the German Ambassador and asked Congress for authority to arm American merchant ships. Upon the failure of the Senate to pass this measure during the closing hours of the Sixty-fourth Congress, the President issued a statement from the White House criticising the rules of the Senate and denouncing the Senators who availed themselves of the privileges conferred by the rules of debate.

WOODROW WILSON

THOMAS WOODROW WILSON, twenty-eighth President of the United States, was known as a jurist, educator, historian, and man of letters before entering political life. He was born in Staunton, Va., Dec. 28, 1856. His mother, Jessie Woodrow, was a native of Carlisle, England. His father, Joseph R., a well-known minister of the Presbyterian Church South, was born in Steubenville, Ohio, of Scotch ancestry. Woodrow Wilson was educated at Davidson College, in North Carolina, and in the private schools of Augusta, Ga., and Columbia, S. C., and received his collegiate training at Princeton University, where he was graduated in 1879. After a course in law at the University of Virginia he was admitted to the bar and practised before the courts in Atlanta, Ga. (1882-83), and then entered Johns Hopkins University as a special student in history and politics; in 1885 became instructor in history and politics at Bryn Mawr College (Pa.); in 1888 a member of the faculty of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and in 1890 accepted the chair of jurisprudence at Princeton. Married, June 24, 1885, Helen Louise Axson, of Savannah, Ga., who died on August 6, 1914. On December 18, 1915, Mr. Wilson married Mrs. Edith Bolling Galt.

Wilson's eminent scholarship was attested by the degrees A.B. (Princeton, 1879); A.M. (Princeton, 1882); LL.B. (U. of Va., 1882); Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins, 1886); LL.D. (Wake Forest, 1887; Tulane, 1898; Johns Hopkins, 1902; Rutgers, 1902; U. of Pa., 1903; Brown, 1903; Harvard, 1907; Williams, 1908; Dartmouth, 1909); Litt.D. (Yale, 1901). His literary reputation rests upon "Congressional Government: a Study in American Politics," published in 1885, while a student at Johns Hopkins; "The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics," a text-book (1888); "An Old Master, and Other Political Essays" (1889); "Division and Reunion, 1829-1889," a sketch of the history of the United States during the period of its greatest development (1893); "Mere Literature," a volume of literary and historical papers (1896); "George Washington," a historical and biographical study (1896); "A History of the American People (5 vols., 1902); "The Free Life" (1908); "Constitutional Government in the United States" (1908); "Civic Problems" (1909). In 1890 he was made professor of jurisprudence and politics at Princeton, which position he held until 1902, when he became president of the University. He was elected Governor of New Jersey in 1910. His record as a State executive won for him the Democratic nomination for President in 1912, and he was elected by a plurality over President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt. Again nominated by the Democrats in 1916, he was re-elected over Charles E. Hughes, Republican.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

[Delivered at Washington, March 4, 1913.]

There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The Senate about to assemble will also be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice-President have been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds to-day. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great, also, very great, in its moral force. Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering, and set the weak in the way of strength and hope. We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be

careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings,

restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; watercourses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they can not alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day: To lift everything that concerns our life as a Nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they can not tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto.

And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowl-

edge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

ADDRESS.

[Delivered in the chamber of the House of Representatives at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress at the beginning of the First Session (special) of the Sixty-third Congress, April 8, 1913.]

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Congress:

I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity to address the two Houses directly and to verify for myself the impression that the President of the United States is a person, not a mere department of the Government hailing Congress from some isolated island of jealous power, sending messages, not speaking naturally and with his own voice—that he is a human being trying to cooperate with other human beings in a common service. After this pleasant experience I shall feel quite normal in all our dealings with one another.

I have called the Congress together in extraordinary session because a duty was laid upon the party now in power at the recent elections which it ought to perform promptly, in order that the burden carried by the people under existing law may be lightened as soon as possible and in order, also, that the business interests of the country may not be kept too long in suspense as to what the fiscal changes are to be to which they will be required to adjust themselves. It is clear to the whole country that the tariff duties must be altered. They must be changed to meet the radical alteration in the conditions of our economic life which the country has witnessed within the last generation. While

the whole face and method of our industrial and commercial life were being changed beyond recognition the tariff schedules have remained what they were before the change began or have moved in the direction they were given when no large circumstance of our industrial development was what it is to-day. Our task is to square them with the actual facts. The sooner that is done the sooner we shall escape from suffering from the facts and the sooner our men of business will be free to thrive by the law of nature (the nature of free business) instead of by the law of legislation and artificial arrangement.

We have seen tariff legislation wander very far afield in our day—very far indeed from the field in which our prosperity might have had a normal growth and stimulation. No one who looks the facts squarely in the face or knows anything that lies beneath the surface of action can fail to perceive the principles upon which recent tariff legislation has been based. We long ago passed beyond the modest notion of “protecting” the industries of the country and moved boldly forward to the idea that they were entitled to the direct patronage of the Government. For a long time—a time so long that the men now active in public policy hardly remember the conditions that preceded it—we have sought in our tariff schedules to give each group of manufacturers or producers what they themselves thought that they needed in order to maintain a practically exclusive market as against the rest of the world. Consciously or unconsciously, we have built up a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it was easy by any, even the crudest, forms of combination to organize monopoly; until at last nothing is normal, nothing is obliged to stand the tests of efficiency and economy, in our world of big business, but everything thrives by concerted arrangement. Only new principles of action will save us from a final hard crystallization of monopoly and a complete loss of the influences that quicken enterprise and keep independent energy alive.

It is plain what those principles must be. We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do not, and probably can not, produce, therefore, and the duties laid upon luxuries and merely for the sake of the revenues they yield, the object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competition, the whetting of American wits by contest with the wits of the rest of the world.

It would be unwise to move toward this end headlong, with reckless haste, or with strokes that cut at the very roots of what has grown

up amongst us by long process and at our own invitation. It does not alter a thing to upset it and break it and deprive it of a chance to change. It destroys it. We must make changes in our fiscal laws, in our fiscal system, whose object is development, a more free and wholesome development, not revolution or upset or confusion. We must build up trade, especially foreign trade. We need the outlet and the enlarged field of energy more than we ever did before. We must build up industry as well, and must adopt freedom in the place of artificial stimulation only so far as it will build, not pull down. In dealing with the tariff the method by which this may be done will be a matter of judgment, exercised item by item. To some not accustomed to the excitements and responsibilities of greater freedom our methods may in some respects and at some points seem heroic, but remedies may be heroic and yet be remedies. It is our business to make sure that they are genuine remedies. Our object is clear. If our motive is above just challenge and only an occasional error of judgment is chargeable against us, we shall be fortunate.

We are called upon to render the country a great service in more matters than one. Our responsibility should be met and our methods should be thorough, as thorough as moderate and well considered, based upon the facts as they are, and not worked out as if we were beginners. We are to deal with the facts of our own day, with the facts of no other, and to make laws which square with those facts. It is best, indeed it is necessary, to begin with the tariff. I will urge nothing upon you now at the opening of your session which can obscure that first object or divert our energies from that clearly defined duty. At a later time I may take the liberty of calling your attention to reforms which should press close upon the heels of the tariff changes, if not accompany them, of which the chief is the reform of our banking and currency laws; but just now I refrain. For the present, I put these matters on one side and think only of this one thing—of the changes in our fiscal system which may best serve to open once more the free channels of prosperity to a great people whom we would serve to the utmost and throughout both rank and file.

I thank you for your courtesy.

CALIFORNIA'S ALIEN LAND LAW.

The California Legislature in 1913 was subjected to much criticism by citizens of other States on account of the introduction of a bill, the principal provisions of which were:

No alien who is ineligible to citizenship shall be permitted to acquire and hold land in California for a period of more than one year after the date of such acquisition.

No corporation, the majority of stock of which is held by aliens who are ineligible to citizenship, shall be permitted to acquire and hold land except for one year.

Governor Hiram Johnson, in answer to the criticism, said:

"Californians are unable to understand why an act admittedly within the jurisdiction of the California Legislature, like the passage of an alien land bill, creates tumult, confusion, and criticism, and why this local act of undoubted right becomes an international question. Of course, the California Legislature would not attempt to contravene any treaty of the Nation, nor to do more than has been done by the Federal Government itself and many other States.

"Our Legislature is now considering an alien land bill in general language and not discriminatory. If terms are used which are claimed to be discriminatory, those very terms long since were made so by many enactments and by the laws of the Nation itself. Broadly speaking, many States have endeavored to prevent the ownership of land by those ineligible to citizenship.

"The United States by statute provided that no alien or person who is not a citizen of the United States, or who has not declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, shall acquire title to land, etc., and relative to the District of Columbia the United States statutes contain the same inhibition.

"Arizona in 1912 passed an act that no person other than a citizen of the United States, or who had declared his intention to become such, shall hereafter acquire any land, etc.

"The State of Washington prevented the acquisition or holding of lands by those who are 'incapable of becoming citizens of the United States.'

"Illinois has enacted that an alien may hold title for the period of six years, and then, if he shall not have become a citizen of the United States, proceedings shall be commenced for the sale of the land, and the proceeds shall go to the State.

"Minnesota provides that no person, unless he be a citizen of the United States, or has declared his intention to become a citizen, shall acquire land.

"Missouri has a similar enactment. Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Texas all have laws of like character.

"Japan, until 1910, had an absolute law against alien ownership and in effect has it yet. What the United States Government has done, what has been done by many States of the Union, what has been done by Japan, all of which admittedly has been done in pursuance of unquestioned power and undoubted right—is now attempted to be done by the State of California, and no reason can logically exist for sundering friendly relations with any power, or for offense and threats by any nation.

"The character of the present California Legislature is the guarantee that only legislation deemed absolutely essential for the preservation of the State and the protection of its people—legislation having its precedent in the enactments of the National Government and the various States—will be passed. And such measures as may be enacted will be considered thoroughly, calmly, judicially and without prejudice or discrimination."

Senator Isidor Rayner on December 12, 1906, speaking to a resolution he had introduced declaring it to be the opinion of the Senate that there was no provision in the treaty between the United States and Japan that related to or in any manner interfered with the right of the State of California to conduct and administer its system of public schools in accordance with its own legislation, said:

"I admit that the United States can enter into any treaty with any foreign power in reference to any subject embraced in the Constitution. I deny, how-

ever, that it possesses any inherent right to make a treaty, and I claim that the treaty-making power lies in grant and not in sovereignty and must be construed in *pari materia* with all the other clauses of the instrument that must be governed by the principles of international law, its usages, and its practices, as those principles, usages, and practices appertain to our form of constitutional government. I utterly deny that we have any right to make a treaty that violates the Constitution or deprives the States of their reserved rights to conduct their local affairs, over which the Federal Government has no jurisdiction, and which they alone have the right to administer, according to their own constitutions and statutes."

This resolution had particular reference to the exclusion of Japanese from the public schools of California, which gave rise at that time to international complications.

Applying Senator Rayner's argument to the present situation, the contention would be that if the existing treaty between the United States and Japan interferes with the right vested in the State of California to make its own land laws, then that treaty is unconstitutional and cannot be enforced.

The importance of the proposed alien land legislation by the State of California was emphasized by an appeal from the President of the United States to the Governor of California as follows:

LETTER TO GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 22, 1913.*

I speak upon the assumption, which I am sure is well founded, that the people of California do not desire their Representatives—and that their Representatives do not wish or intend—in any circumstances to embarrass the Government of the United States in its dealings with a nation with whom it has most earnestly and cordially sought to maintain relations of genuine friendship and good will, and that least of all do they desire to do anything that might impair treaty obligations or cast a doubt upon the honor and good faith of the Nation and its Government.

I therefore appeal with the utmost confidence to the people, the Governor, and the Legislature of California to act in the matter now under consideration in a manner that cannot from any point of view be fairly challenged or called in question. If they deem it necessary to exclude all aliens who have not declared their intentions to become citizens from the privileges of land ownership they can do so along lines already followed in the laws of many of the other States and of many foreign countries, including Japan herself. Insidious discrimination will inevitably draw in question the treaty obligations of the Government of the United States.

I register my very earnest and respectful protest against discrimination in this case, not only because I deem it my duty to do so as the Chief Executive of the Nation, but also, and the more readily, because I believe the people and the legislative authorities of California will generously respond the moment the matter is frankly presented to

them as a question of National policy and of National honor. If they have ignored this point of view, it is, I am sure, because they did not realize what and how much was involved.

WOODROW WILSON.

Gov. Johnson's message to the President in reply was as follows:

SACRAMENTO, CAL., *April 22, 1913.*

The President, Washington, D. C.:

Immediately upon receipt of your telegram of this date, it was transmitted to both houses of the Legislature. I think I may assure you it is the desire of the majority of the members of the Legislature to do nothing in the matter of alien land bills that shall be embarrassing to our own Government or offensive to any other. It is the design of these legislators specifically to provide in any act that nothing therein shall be construed as affecting or impairing any rights secured by treaty, although from the legal standpoint this is deemed unnecessary.

If any act be passed, it will be general in character relating to those who are ineligible to citizenship, and the language employed will be that which has its precedent and sanction in statutes which now exist upon the subject.

I speak, I think, for the majority of the Senate of California; certainly I do for the voting power of the State, when I convey to you our purpose to co-operate fully and heartily with the National Government and to do only that which is admittedly within our province without intended offense or invidious discrimination.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON.

Secretary of State Bryan was sent by the President to California to counsel with the State authorities, and at a conference of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of the Legislature Mr. Bryan delivered the views of President Wilson on the proposed alien land legislation. The Secretary said California might exercise the fullness of her right as a State and enact a rigid law barring Orientals from land ownership, but such action would be against the wishes of the National Administration.

The Secretary of State counseled delay, and as various alternatives suggested that a new treaty with Japan might be sought; that a commission might be appointed to investigate the alien situation with the aid of the President, and finally that if an alien land law seemed imperative its terms should not be such as to give offense.

A compromise measure which had been drafted by Attorney General Webb at Governor Johnson's suggestion, dropped the phrase "ineligible to citizenship," which was declared by Secretary Bryan to be odious to the Japanese. The principal features of the bill were as follows:

1. All aliens eligible to citizenship may acquire and hold land in the same manner as citizens of the United States.

2. All other aliens may acquire and hold land "in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject."

3. Corporations composed of aliens other than those who are eligible to citizenship may acquire and hold land only according to the terms of existing treaties.

4. Present holdings of aliens, regardless of their rights of citizenship, are protected.

5. The State specifically reserves its sovereign right to enact any and all laws relating to the acquisition or holding of real property by aliens.

In drafting the compromise measure Attorney General Webb worked upon the theory that there could be no objection to writing into the statute the specific limitations of the Japanese treaty of 1911

The bill reaches its purpose in two ways:

First—On the death of an alien land owner the bill provides that his ownership ceases and that the property must be taken over by the Probate Court and sold to the highest bidder. Under its terms an alien cannot bequeath real property except to a citizen. The proceeds from the sale of such land are distributed to the heirs by the court.

Second—No leases whatsoever are permitted. Originally it was planned to permit leases covering a maximum period of three to five years, but the Webb act denies this opportunity for colonization by aliens and provides that any lease of agricultural lands is subject to escheat to the State on the day it is begun. To make this more effective the bill provides that when suit is begun to escheat such leases the court shall appraise the lease, sell the property at a forced sale and pay the value of the lease to the State. The remainder of the proceeds shall go to the citizen owner of the land.

Substantially, it is true that the ineligibility to citizenship of the Japanese and Chinese is the keynote of the Webb bill, said Governor Johnson, and if it is determined by the courts of last resort that these aliens could become citizens, then, of course, they would not be affected by this act.

However, up to this time it never has been suggested that the Japanese were eligible to citizenship, and the language of the federal statutes seems very clear on this point.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION

[The Preservation and Protection of Fur Seals and Sea Otter.]

WHEREAS, By the first article of the Convention between the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, Japan and Russia for the preservation and protection of the fur seals and sea otter which frequent the waters of the North Pacific Ocean, concluded at Washington July 7, 1911, it is provided as follows:

The High Contracting Parties mutually and reciprocally agree that their citizens and subjects respectively, and all persons subject to their laws and treaties, and their vessels, shall be prohibited, while this Convention remains in force, from engaging in pelagic sealing in the waters of the North Pacific Ocean, north of the thirtieth parallel of north latitude and including the Seas of Bering, Kamchatka, Okhotsk and Japan, and that every such person and vessel offending against such prohibition may be seized, except within the territorial jurisdiction of one of the other Powers, and detained by the naval or other duly commissioned officers of any of the Parties to this Convention, to be

delivered as soon as practicable to an authorized official of their own nation at the nearest point to the place of seizure, or elsewhere as may be mutually agreed upon; and that the authorities of the nation to which such person or vessel belongs alone shall have jurisdiction to try the offense and impose the penalties for the same; and that the witnesses and proofs necessary to establish the offense, so far as they are under the control of any of the Parties to this Convention, shall also be furnished with all reasonable promptitude to the proper authorities having jurisdiction to try the offense.

And, WHEREAS, By an Act entitled "An Act to give effect to the Convention between the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, Japan and Russia for the preservation and protection of the fur seals and sea otter which frequent the waters of the North Pacific Ocean, concluded at Washington July seventh, nineteen hundred and eleven," approved August 24, 1912, it is provided that the President of the United States shall determine by proclamation when the other parties to said Convention, by appropriate legislation or otherwise, shall have authorized the naval or other officers of the United States, duly commissioned and instructed by the President to that end to arrest, detain, and deliver to the proper officers of such parties, vessels and subjects under their jurisdiction, offending against said Convention or any statute or regulation made by those Governments to enforce said Convention; and that his determination shall be conclusive upon the question.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power and authority conferred upon me by the said Act approved August 24, 1912, do hereby declare that satisfactory information has been received by me that the Governments of Great Britain, Japan and Russia have authorized the naval or other officers of the United States to arrest, detain, and deliver to the proper officers of such Governments, respectively, all persons and vessels subject to their jurisdiction, offending against said Convention, or against any statute or regulation made by those Governments to enforce its provisions; and I do further declare that from and after the date of this Proclamation any person or vessel subject to the jurisdiction of the United States offending or being about to offend against the prohibitions of said Convention, or of said Act, or of the regulations made thereunder, may be seized and detained by the naval or other duly commissioned officers of any of the parties to the said Convention other than the United States, except within the territorial jurisdiction of one of the other of said parties, on condition, however, that such person or vessel so seized and detained shall be delivered as soon as practicable at the nearest point to the place of seizure, with the witnesses and proofs necessary to establish the offenses so far as they are under the control of such party, to the proper official of the

United States, whose courts alone shall have jurisdiction to try the offense and impose the penalties for the same.

In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this thirty-first day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and thirteen, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-seventh.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

ADDRESS

[Delivered by President Wilson at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress,
June 23, 1913.]

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Congress:

It is under the compulsion of what seems to me a clear and imperative duty that I have a second time this session sought the privilege of addressing you in person. I know, of course, that the heated season of the year is upon us, that work in these chambers and in the committee rooms is likely to become a burden as the season lengthens, and that every consideration of personal convenience and personal comfort, perhaps, in the cases of some of us, considerations of personal health even, dictate an early conclusion of the deliberations of the session; but there are occasions of public duty when these things which touch us privately seem very small; when the work to be done is so pressing and so fraught with big consequence that we know that we are not at liberty to weigh against it any point of personal sacrifice. We are now in the presence of such an occasion. It is absolutely imperative that we should give the business men of this country a banking and currency system by means of which they can make use of the freedom of enterprise and of individual initiative which we are about to bestow upon them.

We are about to set them free; we must not leave them without the tools of action when they are free. We are about to set them free by removing the trammels of the protective tariff. Ever since the Civil War they have waited for this emancipation and for the free opportunities it will bring with it. It has been reserved for us to give it to them. Some fell in love, indeed, with the slothful security of their dependence upon the Government; some took advantage of the shelter of the nursery to set up a mimic mastery of their own within its walls.

Now both the tonic and the discipline of liberty and maturity are to ensue. There will be some readjustments of purpose and point of view. There will follow a period of expansion and new enterprise, freshly conceived. It is for us to determine now whether it shall be rapid and facile and of easy accomplishment. This it can not be unless the resourceful business men who are to deal with the new circumstances are to have at hand and ready for use the instrumentalities and conveniences of free enterprise which independent men need when acting on their own initiative.

It is not enough to strike the shackles from business. The duty of statesmanship is not negative merely. It is constructive also. We must show that we understand what business needs and that we know how to supply it. No man, however casual and superficial his observation of the conditions now prevailing in the country, can fail to see that one of the chief things business needs now, and will need increasingly as it gains in scope and vigor in the years immediately ahead of us, is the proper means by which readily to vitalize its credit, corporate and individual, and its originaive brains. What will it profit us to be free if we are not to have the best and most accessible instrumentalities of commerce and enterprise? What will it profit us to be quit of one kind of monopoly if we are to remain in the grip of another and more effective kind? How are we to gain and keep the confidence of the business community unless we show that we know how both to aid and to protect it? What shall we say if we make fresh enterprise necessary and also make it very difficult by leaving all else except the tariff just as we found it? The tyrannies of business, big and little, lie within the field of credit. We know that. Shall we not act upon the knowledge? Do we not know how to act upon it? If a man can not make his assets available at pleasure, his assets of capacity and character and resource, what satisfaction is it to him to see opportunity beckoning to him on every hand, when others have the keys of credit in their pockets and treat them as all but their own private possession? It is perfectly clear that it is our duty to supply the new banking and currency system the country needs, and it will need it immediately more than it has ever needed it before.

The only question is, When shall we supply it—now, or later, after the demands shall have become reproaches that we were so dull and so slow? Shall we hasten to change the tariff laws and then be laggards about making it possible and easy for the country to take advantage of the change? There can be only one answer to that question. We must act now, at whatever sacrifice to ourselves. It is a duty which the circumstances forbid us to postpone. I should be recreant to my deepest convictions of public obligation did I not press it upon you with solemn and urgent insistence.

The principles upon which we should act are also clear. The country has sought and seen its path in this matter within the last few years—sees it more clearly now than it ever saw it before—much more clearly than when the last legislative proposals on the subject were made. We must have a currency, not rigid as now, but readily, elastically responsive to sound credit, the expanding and contracting credits of everyday transactions, the normal ebb and flow of personal and corporate dealings. Our banking laws must mobilize reserves; must not permit the concentration anywhere in a few hands of the monetary resources of the country or their use for speculative purposes in such volume as to hinder or impede or stand in the way of other more legitimate, more fruitful uses. And the control of the system of banking and of issue which our new laws are to set up must be public, not private, must be vested in the Government itself, so that the banks may be the instruments, not the masters, of business and of individual enterprise and initiative.

The committees of the Congress to which legislation of this character is referred have devoted careful and dispassionate study to the means of accomplishing these objects. They have honored me by consulting me. They are ready to suggest action. I have come to you, as the head of the Government and the responsible leader of the party in power, to urge action now, while there is time to serve the country deliberately and as we should, in a clear air of common counsel. I appeal to you with a deep conviction of duty. I believe that you share this conviction. I therefore appeal to you with confidence. I am at your service without reserve to play my part in any way you may call upon me to play it in this great enterprise of exigent reform which it will dignify and distinguish us to perform and discredit us to neglect.

ADDRESS

[Delivered by President Wilson at Gettysburg, Pa., July 4, 1913.]

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

I need not tell you what the battle of Gettysburg meant. These gallant men in blue and gray sit all about us here. Many of them met upon this ground in grim and deadly struggle. Upon these famous fields and hillsides their comrades died about them. In their presence it were an impertinence to discourse upon how the battle went, how it ended, what it signified! But 50 years have gone by since then, and I crave the privilege of speaking to you for a few minutes of what those 50 years have meant.

What *have* they meant? They have meant peace and union and vigor, and the maturity and might of a great nation. How wholesome and healing the peace has been! We have found one another again as brothers and comrades in arms, enemies no longer, generous friends rather, our battles long past, the quarrel forgotten—except that we shall not forget the splendid valor, the manly devotion of the men then arrayed against one another, now grasping hands and smiling into each other's eyes. How complete the union has become and how dear to all of us, how unquestioned, how benign and majestic, as State after State has been added to this our great family of free men! How handsome the vigor, the maturity, the might of the great Nation we love with undivided hearts; how full of large and confident promise that a life will be wrought out that will crown its strength with gracious justice and with a happy welfare that will touch all alike with deep contentment! We are debtors to those 50 crowded years; they have made us heirs to a mighty heritage.

But do we deem the Nation complete and finished? These venerable men crowding here to this famous field have set us a great example of devotion and utter sacrifice. They were willing to die that the people might live. But their task is done. Their day is turned into evening. They look to us to perfect what they established. Their work is handed on to us, to be done in another way but not in another spirit. Our day is not over; it is upon us in full tide.

Have affairs paused? Does the Nation stand still? Is what the 50 years have wrought since those days of battle finished, rounded out, and completed? Here is a great people, great with every force that has ever beaten in the lifeblood of mankind. And it is secure. There is no one within its borders, there is no power among the nations of the earth, to make it afraid. But has it yet squared itself with its own great standards set up at its birth, when it made that first noble, naive appeal to the moral judgment of mankind to take notice that a government had now at last been established which was to serve men, not masters? It is secure in everything except the satisfaction that its life is right, adjusted to the uttermost to the standards of righteousness and humanity. The days of sacrifice and cleansing are not closed. We have harder things to do than were done in the heroic days of war, because harder to see clearly, requiring more vision, more calm balance of judgment, a more candid searching of the very springs of right.

Look around you upon the field of Gettysburg! Picture the array, the fierce heats and agony of battle, column hurled against column, battery bellowing to battery! Valor? Yes! Greater no man shall see in war; and self-sacrifice, and loss to the uttermost; the high recklessness of exalted devotion which does not count the cost. We

are made by these tragic, epic things to know what it costs to make a nation—the blood and sacrifice of multitudes of unknown men lifted to a great stature in the view of all generations by knowing no limit to their manly willingness to serve. In armies thus marshaled from the ranks of free men you will see, as it were, a nation embattled, the leaders and the led, and may know, if you will, how little except in form its action differs in days of peace from its action in days of war.

May we break camp now and be at ease? Are the forces that fight for the Nation dispersed, disbanded, gone to their homes forgetful of the common cause? Are our forces disorganized, without constituted leaders, and the might of men consciously united because we contend, not with armies, but with principalities and powers and wickedness in high places? Are we content to lie still? Does our union mean sympathy, our peace contentment, our vigor right action, our maturity self-comprehension and a clear confidence in choosing what we shall do? War fitted us for action, and action never ceases.

I have been chosen the leader of the Nation. I can not justify the choice by any qualities of my own, but so it has come about, and here I stand. Whom do I command? The ghostly hosts who fought upon these battlefields long ago and are gone? These gallant gentlemen stricken in years whose fighting days are over, their glory won? What are the orders for them, and who rallies them? I have in my mind another host, whom these set free of civil strife in order that they might work out in days of peace and settled order the life of a great Nation. That host is the people themselves, the great and the small, without class or difference of kind or race or origin; and undivided in interest, if we have but the vision to guide and direct them and order their lives aright in what we do. Our constitutions are their articles of enlistment. The orders of the day are the laws upon our statute books. What we strive for is their freedom, their right to lift themselves from day to day and behold the things they have hoped for, and so make way for still better days for those whom they love who are to come after them. The recruits are the little children crowding in. The quartermaster's stores are in the mines and forests and fields, in the shops and factories. Every day something must be done to push the campaign forward; and it must be done by plan and with an eye to some great destiny.

How shall we hold such thoughts in our hearts and not be moved? I would not have you live even to-day wholly in the past, but would wish to stand with you in the light that streams upon us now out of that great day gone by. Here is the nation God has builded by our hands. What shall we do with it? Who stands ready to act again and always in the spirit of this day of reunion and hope and

patriotic fervor? The day of our country's life has but broadened into morning. Do not put uniforms by. Put the harness of the present on. Lift your eyes to the great tracts of life yet to be conquered in the interest of righteous peace, of that prosperity which lies in a people's heart and outlasts all wars and errors of men. Come, let us be comrades and soldiers yet, to serve our fellow men in quiet counsel, where the blare of trumpets is neither heard nor heeded and where the things are done which make blessed the nations of the world in peace and righteousness and love.

ADDRESS

[Delivered by President Wilson at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress,
August 27, 1913.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

It is clearly my duty to lay before you, very fully and without reservation, the facts concerning our present relations with the Republic of Mexico. The deplorable posture of affairs in Mexico I need not describe, but I deem it my duty to speak very frankly of what this Government has done and should seek to do in fulfillment of its obligation to Mexico herself, as a friend and neighbor, and to American citizens whose lives and vital interests are daily affected by the distressing conditions which now obtain beyond our southern border.

Those conditions touch us very nearly. Not merely because they lie at our very doors. That of course makes us more vividly and more constantly conscious of them, and every instinct of neighborly interest and sympathy is aroused and quickened by them; but that is only one element in the determination of our duty. We are glad to call ourselves the friend of Mexico, and we shall, I hope, have many an occasion, in happier times as well as in these days of trouble and confusion, to show that our friendship is genuine and disinterested, capable of sacrifice and every generous manifestation. The peace, prosperity, and contentment of Mexico mean more, much more, to us than merely an enlarged field for our commerce and enterprise. They mean an enlargement of the field of self-government and the realization of the hopes and rights of a nation with whose best aspirations, so long suppressed and disappointed, we deeply sympathize. We shall yet prove to the Mexican people that we know how to serve them without first thinking how we shall serve ourselves.

But we are not the only friends of Mexico. The whole world desires her peace and progress; and the whole world is interested

as never before. Mexico lies at last where all the world looks on. Central America is about to be touched by the great routes of the world's trade and intercourse running free from ocean to ocean at the Isthmus. The future has much in store for Mexico, as for all the States of Central America; but the best gifts can come to her only if she be ready and free to receive them and to enjoy them honorably. America in particular—America north and south and upon both continents—waits upon the development of Mexico; and that development can be sound and lasting only if it be the product of a genuine freedom, a just and ordered government founded upon law. Only so can it be peaceful or fruitful of the benefits of peace. Mexico has a great and enviable future before her, if only she choose and attain the paths of honest constitutional government.

The present circumstances of the Republic, I deeply regret to say, do not seem to promise even the foundations of such a peace. We have waited many months, months full of peril and anxiety, for the conditions there to improve, and they have not improved. They have grown worse, rather. The territory in some sort controlled by the provisional authorities at Mexico City has grown smaller, not larger. The prospect of the pacification of the country, even by arms, has seemed to grow more and more remote; and its pacification by the authorities at the capital is evidently impossible by any other means than force. Difficulties more and more entangle those who claim to constitute the legitimate government of the Republic. They have not made good their claim in fact. Their successes in the field have proved only temporary. War and disorder, devastation and confusion, seem to threaten to become the settled fortune of the distracted country. As friends we could wait no longer for a solution which every week seemed further away. It was our duty at least to volunteer our good offices—to offer to assist, if we might, in effecting some arrangement which would bring relief and peace and set up a universally acknowledged political authority there.

Accordingly, I took the liberty of sending the Hon. John Lind, formerly governor of Minnesota, as my personal spokesman and representative, to the City of Mexico, *with the following instructions*:

Press very earnestly upon the attention of those who are now exercising authority or wielding influence in Mexico the following considerations and advice:

The Government of the United States does not feel at liberty any longer to stand inactively by while it becomes daily more and more evident that no real progress is being made towards the establishment of a government at the City of Mexico which the country will obey and respect.

The Government of the United States does not stand in the same case with the other great Governments of the world in respect of what

is happening or what is likely to happen in Mexico. We offer our good offices, not only because of our genuine desire to play the part of a friend, but also because we are expected by the powers of the world to act as Mexico's nearest friend.

We wish to act in these circumstances in the spirit of the most earnest and disinterested friendship. It is our purpose in whatever we do or propose in this perplexing and distressing situation not only to pay the most scrupulous regard to the sovereignty and independence of Mexico—that we take as a matter of course to which we are bound by every obligation of right and honor—but also to give every possible evidence that we act in the interest of Mexico alone, and not in the interest of any person or body of persons who may have personal or property claims in Mexico which they may feel that they have the right to press. We are seeking to counsel Mexico for her own good, and in the interest of her own peace, and not for any other purpose whatever. The Government of the United States would deem itself discredited if it had any selfish or ulterior purpose in transactions where the peace, happiness, and prosperity of a whole people are involved. It is acting as its friendship for Mexico, not as any selfish interest, dictates.

The present situation in Mexico is incompatible with the fulfillment of international obligations on the part of Mexico, with the civilized development of Mexico herself, and with the maintenance of tolerable political and economic conditions in Central America. It is upon no common occasion, therefore, that the United States offers her counsel and assistance. All America cries out for a settlement.

A satisfactory settlement seems to us to be conditioned on—

(a) An immediate cessation of fighting throughout Mexico, a definite armistice solemnly entered into and scrupulously observed;

(b) Security given for an early and free election in which all will agree to take part;

(c) The consent of Gen. Huerta to bind himself not to be a candidate for election as President of the Republic at this election; and

(d) The agreement of all parties to abide by the results of the election and co-operate in the most loyal way in organizing and supporting the new administration.

The Government of the United States will be glad to play any part in this settlement or in its carrying out which it can play honorably and consistently with international right. It pledges itself to recognize and in every way possible and proper to assist the administration chosen and set up in Mexico in the way and on the conditions suggested.

Taking all the existing conditions into consideration, the Government of the United States can conceive of no reasons sufficient to justify those who are now attempting to shape the policy or exercise the authority of Mexico in declining the offices of friendship thus offered. Can Mexico give the civilized world a satisfactory reason for rejecting our good offices? If Mexico can suggest any better way in which to show our friendship, serve the people of Mexico, and meet our international obligations, we are more than willing to consider the suggestion.

Mr. Lind executed his delicate and difficult mission with singular tact, firmness, and good judgment, and made clear to the authorities

at the City of Mexico not only the purpose of his visit but also the spirit in which it had been undertaken. But the proposals he submitted were rejected, in a note the full text of which I take the liberty of laying before you.

I am led to believe that they were rejected partly because the authorities at Mexico City had been grossly misinformed and misled upon two points. They did not realize the spirit of the American people in this matter, their earnest friendliness and yet sober determination that some just solution be found for the Mexican difficulties; and they did not believe that the present administration spoke through Mr. Lind, for the people of the United States. The effect of this unfortunate misunderstanding on their part is to leave them singularly isolated and without friends who can effectually aid them. So long as the misunderstanding continues we can only await the time of their awakening to a realization of the actual facts. We can not thrust our good offices upon them. The situation must be given a little more time to work itself out in the new circumstances; and I believe that only a little while will be necessary. For the circumstances are new. The rejection of our friendship makes them new and will inevitably bring its own alterations in the whole aspect of affairs. The actual situation of the authorities at Mexico City will presently be revealed.

Meanwhile, what is it our duty to do? Clearly, everything that we do must be rooted in patience and done with calm and disinterested deliberation. Impatience on our part would be childish, and would be fraught with every risk of wrong and folly. We can afford to exercise the self-restraint of a really great nation which realizes its own strength and scorns to misuse it. It was our duty to offer our active assistance. It is now our duty to show what true neutrality will do to enable the people of Mexico to set their affairs in order again and wait for a further opportunity to offer our friendly counsels. The door is not closed against the resumption, either upon the initiative of Mexico or upon our own, of the effort to bring order out of the confusion by friendly co-operative action, should fortunate occasion offer.

While we wait, the contest of the rival forces will undoubtedly for a little while be sharper than ever, just because it will be plain that an end must be made of the existing situation, and that very promptly; and with the increased activity of the contending factions will come, it is to be feared, increased danger to the noncombatants in Mexico as well as to those actually in the field of battle. The position of outsiders is always particularly trying and full of hazard where there is civil strife and a whole country is upset. We should earnestly urge all Americans to leave Mexico at once, and should assist them to get away in every way possible—not because we would mean to slacken

in the least our efforts to safeguard their lives and their interests, but because it is imperative that they should take no unnecessary risks when it is physically possible for them to leave the country. We should let every one who assumes to exercise authority in any part of Mexico know in the most unequivocal way that we shall vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who can not get away, and shall hold those responsible for their sufferings and losses to a definite reckoning. That can be and will be made plain beyond the possibility of a misunderstanding.

For the rest, I deem it my duty to exercise the authority conferred upon me by the law of March 14, 1912, to see to it that neither side to the struggle now going on in Mexico receive any assistance from this side the border. I shall follow the best practice of nations in the matter of neutrality by forbidding the exportation of arms or munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico—a policy suggested by several interesting precedents and certainly dictated by many manifest considerations of practical expediency. We can not in the circumstances be the partisans of either party to the contest that now distracts Mexico, or constitute ourselves the virtual umpire between them.

I am happy to say that several of the great Governments of the world have given this Government their generous moral support in urging upon the provisional authorities at the City of Mexico the acceptance of our proffered good offices in the spirit in which they were made. We have not acted in this matter under the ordinary principles of international obligation. All the world expects us in such circumstances to act as Mexico's nearest friend and intimate adviser. This is our immemorial relation towards her. There is nowhere any serious question that we have the moral right in the case or that we are acting in the interest of a fair settlement and of good government, not for the promotion of some selfish interest of our own. If further motive were necessary than our own good will towards a sister Republic and our own deep concern to see peace and order prevail in Central America, this consent of mankind to what we are attempting, this attitude of the great nations of the world towards what we may attempt in dealing with this distressed people at our doors, should make us feel the more solemnly bound to go to the utmost length of patience and forbearance in this painful and anxious business. The steady pressure of moral force will before many days break the barriers of pride and prejudice down, and we shall triumph as Mexico's friends sooner than we could triumph as her enemies—and how much more handsomely, with how much higher and finer satisfactions of conscience and of honor!

REPLY OF SENOR GAMBOA TO PROPOSALS OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT CONVEYED THROUGH HON. JOHN LIND

MEXICO, *August 16, 1913.*

SIR: On the 6th instant, pursuant to telegraphic instructions from his Government, the chargé d'affaires ad interim of the United States of America verbally informed Mr. Manuel Garza Aldape, then in charge of the department of foreign affairs, of your expected arrival in this Republic with a mission of peace. As fortunately neither then nor to-day has there existed a state of war between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, my Government was very much surprised to learn that your mission near us should be referred to as one of peace. This brought forth the essential condition which my Government ventured to demand in its unnumbered note of the 6th instant addressed to the aforesaid chargé d'affaires—"that if you do not see fit to properly establish your official character" your sojourn could not be pleasing to us according to the meaning which diplomatic usage gives to this word.

Fortunately, from the first interview I had the pleasure to have with you, your character as confidential agent of your Government was fully established, inasmuch as the letter you had the kindness to show me, though impersonally addressed, was signed by the President of the United States, for whom we entertain the highest respect.

It is not essential at this time, Mr. Confidential Agent, that I should recall the whole of our first conversation. I will say, however, that I found you to be a well-informed man and animated by the sincerest wishes that the unfortunate tension of the present relations between your Government and mine should reach a prompt and satisfactory solution.

During our second interview, which, like the first one of the 14th instant, was held at my private ⁽¹⁾, you saw fit, after all intent, honest and frank exchange of opinion concerning the attitudes of our respective Governments which did not lead us to any decision, to deliver to me the note containing the instructions, also signed by the President of the United States. Duly authorized by the President of the Republic, pursuant to the unanimous approval of the Cabinet, which was convened for the purpose, I have the honor to make a detailed reply to such instructions.

The Government of Mexico has paid due attention to the advice and considerations expressed by the Government of the United States; has done this on account of three principal reasons: First, because, as stated before, Mexico entertains the highest respect for the personality

¹ Omission.

of His Excellency Woodrow Wilson; second, because certain European and American Governments, with which Mexico cultivates the closest relations of international amity, having in a most delicate, respectful way, highly gratifying to us, made use of their good offices to the end that Mexico should accord you a hearing, inasmuch as you were the bearer of a private mission from the President of the United States; and, third, because Mexico was anxious, not so much to justify its attitude before the inhabitants of the Republic in the present emergency, the great majority of whom and by means of imposing and orderly manifestations, have signified their adhesion and approval, as to demonstrate in every way the justice of its cause.

The imputation contained in the first paragraph of your instructions that no progress has been made toward establishing in the capital of Mexico a Government that may enjoy the respect and obedience of the Mexican people is unfounded. In contradiction with their gross imputation, which is not supported by any proofs, principally because there are none, it affords me pleasure to refer, Mr. Confidential Agent, to the following facts which abound in evidence and which to a certain extent must be known to you by direct observation. The Mexican Republic, Mr. Confidential Agent, is formed by 27 States, 3 Territories, and 1 Federal District, in which the supreme power of the Republic has its seat. Of these 27 States, 18 of them, the 3 Territories, and the Federal District (making a total of 22 political entities) are under the absolute control of the present Government, which, aside from the above, exercises its authority over almost every port in the Republic and, consequently, over the custom houses therein established. Its southern frontier is open and at peace. Moreover, my Government has an army of 80,000 men in the field, with no other purpose than to insure complete peace in the Republic, the only national aspiration and solemn promise of the present provisional President. The above is sufficient to exclude any doubt that my Government is worthy of the respect and obedience of the Mexican people, because the latter's consideration has been gained at the cost of the greatest sacrifice and in spite of the most evil influences.

My Government fails to understand what the Government of the United States of America means by saying that it does not find itself in the same case with reference to the other nations of the earth concerning what is happening and is likely to happen in Mexico. The conditions of Mexico at the present time are, unfortunately, neither doubtful nor secret; it is afflicted with an internal strife which has been raging almost three years, and which I can only classify in these lines as a fundamental mistake. With reference to what might happen in Mexico neither you, Mr. Confidential Agent, nor I nor anyone else can prognosticate, because no assertion is possible on incidents which

have not occurred. On the other hand, my Government greatly appreciates the good offices tendered to it by the Government of the United States of America in the present circumstances; it recognizes that they are inspired by the noble desire to act as a friend as well as by the wishes of all the other Governments which expect the United States to act as Mexico's nearest friend. But if such good offices are to be of the character of those now tendered to us we should have to decline them in the most categorical and definite manner.

Inasmuch as the Government of the United States is willing to act in the most disinterested friendship, it will be difficult for it to find a more propitious opportunity than the following: If it should only watch that no material and monetary assistance is given to rebels who find refuge, conspire, and provide themselves with arms and food on the other side of the border; if it should demand from its minor and local authorities the strictest observance of the neutrality laws, I assure you, Mr. Confidential Agent, that the complete pacification of this Republic would be accomplished within a relatively short time.

I intentionally abstain from replying to the allusion that it is the purpose of the United States of America to show the greatest respect for the sovereignty and independence of Mexico, because, Mr. Confidential Agent, there are matters which not even from the standpoint of the idea itself could be given an answer in writing.

His Excellency Mr. Wilson is laboring under a serious delusion when he declares that the present situation of Mexico is incompatible with the compliance of her international obligations, with the development of its own civilization, and with the required maintenance of certain political and economical conditions tolerable in Central America. Strongly backing that there is a mistake, because to this date no charge has been made by any foreign Government accusing us of the above lack of compliance, we are punctually meeting all of our credits; we are still maintaining diplomatic missions cordially accepted in almost all the countries of the world, and we continue to be invited to all kinds of international congresses and conferences. With regard to our interior development, the following proof is sufficient, to-wit, a contract has just been signed with Belgian capitalists which means to Mexico the construction of something like 5,000 kilometers of railway. In conclusion, we fail to see the evil results, which are prejudicial only to ourselves, felt in Central America by our present domestic war. In one thing I do agree with you, Mr. Confidential Agent, and it is that the whole of America is clamoring for a prompt solution of our disturbances, this being a very natural sentiment if it is borne in mind that a country which was prosperous only yesterday has been suddenly caused to suffer a great internal misfortune.

Consequently Mexico can not for one moment take into considera-

tion the four conditions which His Excellency Mr. Wilson has been pleased to propose through your honorable and worthy channel. I must give you the reasons for it: An immediate suspension of the struggle in Mexico, a definite armistice "solemnly constructed and scrupulously observed" is not possible, as to do this it would be necessary that there should be some one capable of proposing it without causing a profound offense to civilization, to the many bandits who, under this or that pretext, are marauding toward the south and committing the most outrageous depredations; and I know of no country in the world, the United States included, which may have ever dared to enter into agreement or to propose an armistice to individuals who, perhaps on account of a physiological accident, can be found all over the world beyond the pale of the divine and human laws. Bandits, Mr. Confidential Agent, are not admitted to armistice; the first action against them is one of correction, and when this, unfortunately, fails, their lives must be severed for the sake of the biological and fundamental principle that the useful sprouts should grow and fructify.

With reference to the rebels who style themselves "Constitutionalists," one of the representatives of whom has been given an ear by Members of the United States Senate, what could there be more gratifying to us than if convinced of the precipice to which we are being dragged by the resentment of their defeat, in a moment of reaction they would depose their rancor and add their strength to ours, so that all together we would undertake the great and urgent task of national reconstruction? Unfortunately, they do not avail themselves of the amnesty law enacted by the provisional government immediately after its inauguration, but, on the contrary, well-known rebels holding elective positions in the capital of the Republic or profitable employments, left the country without molestation, notwithstanding the information which the Government had that they were going to foreign lands to work against its interests, many of whom have taken upon themselves the unfortunate task of exposing the mysteries and infirmities from which we are suffering, the same as any other human congregations.

Were we to agree with them to the armistice suggested, they would *ipso facto*, recognize their belligerency, and this is something which can not be done for many reasons which can not escape the perspicacity of the Government of the United States of America, which to this day, and publicly, at least, has classed them as rebels just the same as we have. And it is an accepted doctrine that no armistice can be concerted with rebels.

The assurance asked of my Government that it should promptly convene to free elections is the most evident proof and the most unequivocal concession that the Government of the United States considers it legally and solidly constituted and that it is exercising, like all those

of its class, acts of such importance as to indicate the perfect civil operation of a sovereign nation. Inasmuch as our laws already provide such assurance, there is no fear that the latter may not be observed during the coming elections, and while the present Government is of a provisional character it will cede its place to the definite Government which may be elected by the people.

The request that Gen. Victoriano Huerta should agree not to appear as a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic in the coming elections can not be taken into consideration, because, aside from its strange and unwarranted character, there is a risk that the same might be interpreted as a matter of personal dislike. This point can only be decided by Mexican public opinion when it may be expressed at the polls.

The pledge that all parties should agree beforehand to the results of the election and to co-operate in the most loyal manner to support and organize the new administration is something to be tacitly supposed and desired, and that the experience of what this internal strife means to us in loss of life and the destruction of property will cause all contending political factions to abide by the results; but it would be extemporaneous to make any assertion in this respect, even by the most experienced countries in civil matters, inasmuch as no one can forecast or foresee the errors and excesses which men are likely to commit, especially under the influence of political passion. We hasten to signify our appreciation to the United States of America because they agree from to-day to recognize and aid the future which we, the Mexican people, may elect to rule our destinies. On the other hand, we greatly deplore the present tension in our relations with your country, a tension which has been produced without Mexico having afforded the slightest cause therefor. The legality of the government of Gen. Huerta can not be disputed. Article 85 of our political constitution provides:

If at the beginning of a constitutional term neither the President nor the Vice-President elected present themselves, or if the election has not been held and the results thereof declared by the 1st of December, nevertheless, the President whose term has expired will cease in his functions, and the secretary for foreign affairs shall immediately take charge of the Executive power in the capacity of provisional President; and if there should be no secretary for foreign affairs, or if he should be incapacitated, the Presidency shall devolve on one of the other secretaries pursuant to the order provided by the law establishing their number. The same procedure shall be followed when, in the case of the absolute or temporary absence of the President the Vice-President fails to appear, when on leave of absence from his post if he should be discharging his duties, and when in the course of his term the absolute absence of both functionaries should occur.

Now, then, the facts which occurred are the following: The resignation of Francisco I. Madero, constitutional President, and Jose Maria Pino Suarez, constitutional Vice-President of the Republic. These resignations having been accepted, Pedro Lascurain, Minister for Foreign Affairs, took charge by operation of law of the vacant executive power, appointing, as he had the power to do, Gen. Victoriano Huerta to the post of Minister of the Interior. As Mr. Lascurain soon afterwards resigned, and as his resignation was immediately accepted by Congress, Gen. Victoriano Huerta took charge of the executive power, also by operation of law, with the provisional character and under the constitutional promise already complied with to issue a call for special elections. As will be seen, the point of issue is exclusively one of constitutional law in which no foreign nation, no matter how powerful and respectable it may be, should mediate in the least.

Moreover, my Government considers that at the present time the recognition of the Government of Gen. Huerta by that of the United States of America is not concerned, inasmuch as facts which exist on their own account are not and can not be susceptible of recognition. The only thing which is being discussed is a suspension of relations as abnormal and without reason; abnormal, because the ambassador of the United States of America, in his high diplomatic investiture and appearing as dean of the foreign diplomatic corps accredited to the Government of the Republic, congratulated Gen. Huerta upon his elevation to the Presidency, continued to correspond with this department by means of diplomatic notes, and on his departure left the first secretary of the embassy of the United States of America as chargé d'affaires ad interim, and the latter continues here in the free exercise of his functions; and without reason, because, I repeat, we have not given the slightest pretext.

The confidential agent may believe that solely because of the sincere esteem in which the people and the Government of the United States of America are held by the people and Government of Mexico, and because of the consideration which it has for all friendly nations (and especially in this case for those which have offered their good offices), my Government consented to take into consideration, and to answer as briefly as the matter permits, the representations of which you are the bearer. Otherwise, it would have rejected them immediately because of their humiliating and unusual character, hardly admissible even in a treaty of peace after a victory, inasmuch as in a like case any nation which in the least respects itself would do likewise. It is because my Government has confidence in that when the justice of its cause is reconsidered with serenity and from a lofty point of view by the present President of the United States of America, whose sense

of morality and uprightness are beyond question, that he will withdraw from his attitude and will contribute to the renewal of still firmer bases for the relations of sincere friendship and good understanding forcibly imposed upon us throughout the centuries by our geographical nearness, something which neither of us can change, even though we would so desire, by our mutual interests and by our share of activity in the common sense of prosperity, welfare, and culture, in regard to which we are pleased to acknowledge that you are enviably ahead of us.

With reference to the final part of the instructions of President Wilson, which I beg to include herewith and which say, "If Mexico can suggest any better way in which to show our friendship, serve the people of Mexico, and meet our international obligations, we are more than willing to consider the suggestion," that final part causes me to propose the following equally decorous arrangement: One, that our ambassador be received in Washington; two, that the United States of America send us a new ambassador without previous conditions.

And all this threatening and distressing situation will have reached a happy conclusion; mention will not be made of the causes which might carry us, if the tension persists, to no one knows what incalculable extremities for two peoples who have the unavoidable obligation to continue being friends, provided, of course, that this friendship is based upon mutual respect, which is indispensable between two sovereign entities wholly equal before law and justice.

In conclusion, permit me, Mr. Confidential Agent, to reiterate to you the assurances of my perfect consideration.

F. GAMBOA,

Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Republic.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION

[Regulations for the Protection of Migratory Birds.]

WHEREAS, an Act of Congress approved March fourth, nineteen hundred and thirteen, entitled "An Act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and fourteen" (37 Stat., 847), contains provisions as follows:

All wild geese, wild swans, brant, wild ducks, snipe, plover, woodcock, rail, wild pigeons, and all other migratory game and insectivorous birds which in their northern and southern migrations pass through or do not remain permanently the entire year within the borders of any State or Territory, shall hereafter be deemed to be within the custody

and protection of the Government of the United States, and shall not be destroyed or taken contrary to regulations hereinafter provided therefor.

The Department of Agriculture is hereby authorized and directed to adopt suitable regulations to give effect to the previous paragraph by prescribing and fixing closed seasons, having due regard to the zones of temperature, breeding habits, and times and line of migratory flight, thereby enabling the department to select and designate suitable districts for different portions of the country, and it shall be unlawful to shoot or by any device kill or seize and capture migratory birds within the protection of this law during said closed seasons, and any person who shall violate any of the provisions or regulations of this law for the protection of migratory birds shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be fined not more than \$100 or imprisoned not more than ninety days, or both, in the discretion of the court.

The Department of Agriculture, after the preparation of said regulations, shall cause the same to be made public, and shall allow a period of three months in which said regulations may be examined and considered before final adoption, permitting, when deemed proper, public hearings thereon, and after final adoption shall cause the same to be engrossed and submitted to the President of the United States for approval: *Provided, however,* That nothing herein contained shall be deemed to affect or interfere with the local laws of the States and Territories for the protection of non-migratory game or other birds resident and breeding within their borders, nor to prevent the States and Territories from enacting laws and regulations to promote and render efficient the regulations of the Department of Agriculture provided under this statute.

WHEREAS, the Department of Agriculture has duly prepared suitable regulations to give effect to the foregoing provisions of said Act and after the preparation of said regulations has caused the same to be made public and has allowed a period of three months in which said regulations might be examined and considered before final adoption and has permitted public hearings thereon;

And, WHEREAS, the Department of Agriculture has adopted the regulations hereinafter set forth and after final adoption thereof has caused the same to be engrossed and submitted to the President of the United States for approval;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, by authority in me vested do hereby proclaim and make known the following regulations for carrying into effect the foregoing provisions of said Act:

REGULATION I. DEFINITIONS.

For the purposes of these regulations the following shall be considered migratory game birds:

{a) Anatidæ or waterfowl, including brant, wild ducks, geese, and swans.

(b) *Gruidae* or cranes, including little brown, sandhill, and whooping cranes.

(c) *Rallidae* or rails, including coots, gallinules, and sora and other rails.

(d) *Limicolae* or shore birds, including avocets, curlew, dowitchers, godwits, knots, oyster catchers, phalaropes, plover, sandpipers, snipe, stilts, surf birds, turnstones, willet, woodcock, and yellowlegs.

(e) *Columbidae* or pigeons, including doves and wild pigeons.

For the purposes of these regulations the following shall be considered migratory insectivorous birds:

(f) Bobolinks, catbirds, chickadees, cuckoos, flickers, flycatchers, grosbeaks, humming birds, kinglets, martins, meadowlarks, nighthawks or bull bats, nuthatches, orioles, robins, shrikes, swallows, swifts, tanagers, titmice, thrushes, vireos, warblers, waxwings, whippoorwills, woodpeckers, and wrens, and all other perching birds which feed entirely or chiefly on insects.

REGULATION 2. CLOSED SEASON AT NIGHT.

A daily closed season on all migratory game and insectivorous birds shall extend from sunset to sunrise.

REGULATION 3. CLOSED SEASON ON INSECTIVOROUS BIRDS.

A closed season on migratory insectivorous birds shall continue to December 31, 1913, and each year thereafter shall begin January 1 and continue to December 31, both dates inclusive, provided that nothing in this or any other of these regulations shall be construed to prevent the issue of permits for collecting birds for scientific purposes in accordance with the laws and regulations in force in the respective States and Territories and the District of Columbia; and provided further that the closed season on reedbirds or ricebirds in Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia and South Carolina shall begin November 1 and end August 31 next following, both dates inclusive.

REGULATION 4. FIVE-YEAR CLOSED SEASONS ON CERTAIN GAME BIRDS.

A closed season shall continue until September 1, 1918, on the following migratory game birds: Band-tailed pigeons, little brown, sandhill, and whooping cranes, swans, curlew, and all shorebirds except the black-breasted and golden plover, Wilson or jack snipe, woodcock, and the greater and lesser yellowlegs.

A closed season shall also continue until September 1, 1918, on wood ducks in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota,

Iowa, Kansas, California, Oregon, and Washington; on rails in California and Vermont; and on woodcock in Illinois and Missouri.

REGULATION 5. CLOSED SEASON ON CERTAIN NAVIGABLE RIVERS.

A closed season shall continue between January 1 and December 31, both dates inclusive, of each year, on all migratory birds passing over or at rest on any of the waters of the main streams of the following navigable rivers, to wit: The Mississippi River between Minneapolis, Minn., and Memphis, Tenn.; and the Missouri River between Bismarck, N. Dak., and Nebraska City, Nebr.; and on the killing or capture of any of such birds on or over the shores of any of said rivers, or at any point within the limits aforesaid, from any boat, raft, or other device, floating or otherwise, in or on any such waters.

REGULATION 6. ZONES.

The following zones for the protection of migratory game and insectivorous birds are hereby established:

Zone No. 1, the breeding zone, comprising States lying wholly or in part north of latitude 40° and the Ohio River and including Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington—25 States.

Zone No. 2, the wintering zone, comprising States lying wholly or in part south of latitude 40° and the Ohio River and including Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, and Utah—23 States and the District of Columbia.

REGULATION 7. CONSTRUCTION.

For the purposes of regulations 8 and 9, each period of time therein prescribed as a closed season shall be construed to include the first day and to exclude the last day thereof.

REGULATION 8. CLOSED SEASONS IN ZONE NO. 1.

Closed seasons in Zone No. 1 shall be as follows:

Waterfowl.—The closed season on waterfowl shall be between December 16 and September 1 next following, except as follows:

Exceptions: In Massachusetts the closed season shall be between January 1 and September 15.

In New York, except Long Island, the closed season shall be between December 16 and September 16.

On Long Island and in Oregon and Washington the closed season shall be between January 16 and October 1.

In New Jersey the closed season shall be between February 1 and November 1; and

In Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin the closed season shall be between December 1 and September 7.

Rails.—The closed season on rails, coots, and gallinules shall be between December 1 and September 1 next following, except as follows:

Exceptions: In Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island the closed season shall be between December 1 and August 15.

In Connecticut, Michigan, and New York, and on Long Island the closed season shall be between December 1 and September 16.

In Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin the closed season shall be between December 1 and September 7; and

In Oregon and Washington the closed season shall be between January 16 and October 1.

Woodcock.—The closed season on woodcock shall be between December 1 and October 1 next following, except as follows:

Exceptions: In Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey the closed season shall be between December 1 and October 10.

In Rhode Island the closed season shall be between December 1 and November 1; and

In Pennsylvania and on Long Island the closed season shall be between December 1 and October 15.

Shore birds.—The closed season on black-breasted and golden plover, jack-snipe or Wilson snipe, and greater and lesser yellowlegs shall be between December 16 and September 1 next following, except as follows:

Exceptions: In Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and on Long Island the closed season shall be between December 1 and August 15.

In New York, except Long Island, the closed season shall be between December 1 and September 16.

In Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin the closed season shall be between December 1 and September 7; and

In Oregon and Washington the closed season shall be between December 16 and October 1.

REGULATION 9. CLOSED SEASONS IN ZONE No. 2.

Closed seasons in Zone No. 2 shall be as follows:

Waterfowl.—The closed season on waterfowl shall be between January 16 and October 1 next following, except as follows:

Exceptions: In Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas the closed season shall be between February 1 and November 1.

In the District of Columbia, Kansas, New Mexico, and West Virginia the closed season shall be between December 16 and September 1.

In Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina the closed season shall be between February 16 and November 20.

In Missouri and Nevada the closed season shall be between January 1 and September 15; and

In Arizona and California the closed season shall be between February 1 and October 15.

Rails.—The closed season on rails, coots, and gallinules shall be between December 1 and September 1 next following, except as follows:

Exceptions: In Tennessee and Utah the closed season shall be between December 1 and October 1.

In Missouri the closed season shall be between January 1 and September 15.

In Louisiana the closed season shall be between February 1 and November 1; and

In Arizona and California the closed season on coots shall be between February 1 and October 15.

Woodcock.—The closed season on woodcock shall be between January 1 and November 1, except as follows:

Exceptions: In Delaware and Louisiana the closed season shall be between January 1 and November 15.

In West Virginia the closed season shall be between December 1 and October 1; and

In Georgia the closed season shall be between January 1 and December 1.

Shore birds.—The closed season on black-breasted and golden plover, jack-snipe or Wilson snipe, and greater and lesser yellowlegs shall be between December 16 and September 1 next following, except as follows:

Exceptions: In Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina the closed season shall be between February 1 and November 20.

In Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas the closed season shall be between February 1 and November 1.

In Tennessee the closed season shall be between December 16 and October 1.

In Arizona and California the closed season shall be between February 1 and October 15; and

In Utah the closed season on snipe shall be between December 16 and October 1, and on plover and yellowlegs shall be until September 1, 1918.

REGULATION 10. HEARINGS.

Persons recommending changes in the regulations or desiring to submit evidence in person or by attorney as to the necessity for such changes should make application to the Secretary of Agriculture. Whenever possible hearings will be arranged at central points, and due

notice thereof given by publication or otherwise as may be deemed appropriate. Persons recommending changes should be prepared to show the necessity for such action and to submit evidence other than that based on reasons of personal convenience or a desire to kill game during a longer open season.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the city of Washington, this first day of October
in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and
[SEAL.] thirteen and of the Independence of the United States
the one hundred and thirty-eighth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION

[Cabrillo National Monument.]

WHEREAS, by section 2 of an Act of Congress approved June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225), the President was authorized "in his discretion, to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and pre-historic structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected";

And WHEREAS, when Cabrillo sailed into San Diego Bay on the 28th day of September, 1542, Point Loma was the first land sighted; and The Order of Panama, an organization composed of representative citizens of Southern California, has applied for permission to construct a heroic statue of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, the discoverer of California, on Point Loma which lies within the military reservation of Fort Rosecrans, California, and has requested that a suitable site be set apart for such monument;

NOW THEREFORE, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, under authority of the said Act of Congress, do hereby reserve as a site for the said monument, the following described parcel of land situated on Point Loma within the limits of the military reservation of Fort Rosecrans, California, and do hereby declare and

proclaim the same to be a national monument to commemorate the discovery of California by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, on the 28th day of September, 1542, viz.:

Beginning at a monument 53 ft. from southeast corner of the Old Lighthouse, Point Loma (true az. $6^{\circ} 26'$): thence, true az. $292^{\circ} 50'$, 25 feet; thence, true az. $234^{\circ} 09'$, 36 feet; thence, true az. $210^{\circ} 47'$, 35 feet; thence, true az. $191^{\circ} 14'$, 53 feet; thence, true az. $175^{\circ} 56'$, 57 feet; thence, true az. $159^{\circ} 26'$, 33 feet; thence, true az. $138^{\circ} 29'$, 115 feet; thence, true az. $7^{\circ} 39'$, 170 feet; thence, true az. $349^{\circ} 56'$, 43 feet; thence, true az. $337^{\circ} 58'$, 25 feet; thence, true az. $332^{\circ} 14'$, 35 feet, to the point of beginning; containing 21,910 square feet, more or less.

The area above comprises all the parcel of ground within the loop of the Point Loma Boulevard where it encircles the Old Lighthouse, but does not include any of the roadway.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and thirteen, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-eighth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION

[Thanksgiving—1913.]

THE season is at hand in which it has been our long respected custom as a people to turn in praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for His manifold mercies and blessings to us as a nation. The year that has just passed has been marked in a peculiar degree by manifestations of His gracious and beneficent providence. We have not only had peace throughout our own borders and with the nations of the world but that peace has been brightened by constantly multiplying evidences of genuine friendship, of mutual sympathy and understanding, and of the happy operation of many elevating influences both of ideal and of practice. The nation has been prosperous not only but has proved its capacity to take calm counsel amidst the rapid movement of affairs and deal with its own life in a spirit of candor, righteousness, and

comity. We have seen the practical completion of a great work at the Isthmus of Panama which not only exemplifies the nation's abundant resources to accomplish what it will and the distinguished skill and capacity of its public servants but also promises the beginning of a new age, of new contacts, new neighborhoods, new sympathies, new bonds, and new achievements of co-operation and peace. "Righteousness exalteth a nation" and "peace on earth, good will towards men" furnish the only foundations upon which can be built the lasting achievements of the human spirit. The year has brought us the satisfactions of work well done and fresh visions of our duty which will make the work of the future better still.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Thursday the twenty-seventh of November next as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, and invite the people throughout the land to cease from their wonted occupations and in their several homes and places of worship render thanks to Almighty God.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-third day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and thirteen, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-eighth.

[SEAL.]

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

[To Regulate the Carrying of Arms in the Canal Zone.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 7, 1913.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me, I hereby establish the following order for the Canal Zone:

Section 1. Anyone who carries on or about his person any firearm, dirk, dagger or other knife manufactured or sold for the purpose of offence or defence, or any slungshot, sword-cane or any knuckles made of metal or other hard substance, shall be punished by fine of not less than Five Dollars nor more than Twenty-five Dollars, or by imprisonment in jail of not less than five days nor more than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court, and during such time of imprisonment such offender may be put to work upon any public work in the Canal Zone.

In addition to the punishment herein prescribed for unlawfully carrying arms, the courts shall adjudge the seizure and confiscation of the arms unlawfully carried by the offending party and the same shall be disposed of in such manner as the Head of the Department of Civil Administration shall determine.

Section 2. The preceding section shall not apply to a person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States or as a peace officer or officer authorized to execute judicial process of the United States or the Canal Zone, or in carrying mail or engaged in the collection or custody of funds of the United States or the Canal Zone, nor to a member of a gun or pistol club for the promotion of target practice, a certified copy of the constitution and by-laws of which has been approved by the Head of the Department of Civil Administration, and filed with the Collector of Revenues, when such member is going to or from a target range, and engaged in practice at the target range. For the purposes of this order, a certificate of membership in the gun or pistol club shall be issued by the organization and approved by the Head of the Department of Civil Administration, and shall entitle the holder to carry firearms as provided for in this section.

Neither shall the preceding section apply to any person authorized to have or carry arms by permit granted under the terms and conditions named in section 3 hereof.

Section 3. The Head of the Department of Civil Administration may authorize the granting of permits to have and carry arms as follows:

1. To hunt upon the public lands of the Canal Zone, or upon the lands of private persons when authorized by the latter.

2. To have arms in residences, offices, business places and plantations; and to watchmen or overseers of plantations, factories, warehouses, docks or piers.

Applications for such permits shall be made to the Head of the Department of Civil Administration and shall state the full name, residence and occupation of the applicant, and if the applicant is a minor it shall not be granted without the written consent of his parent or guardian.

The Head of the Department of Civil Administration shall satisfy himself by due inquiry that the applicant is a proper person to have a permit to carry arms, and he may grant or deny the application as to him may seem proper.

When an application is granted by the Head of the Department of Civil Administration for a permit to hunt he shall file the application, with his approval endorsed thereon, with the Collector of Revenues, who shall issue a permit to the applicant upon his paying the Collector of Revenues a fee of one dollar, to be covered into the Treasury of the Canal Zone Government.

The hunting permits issued by virtue of this order shall authorize the holder thereof to have, use or carry a gun, rifle or other similar long arm for hunting purposes during the fiscal year for which the permit is issued, provided, however, that such permit may be revoked at any time for cause by the Head of the Department of Civil Administration.

Section 4. Anyone who engages in hunting without first obtaining the permit provided for in this order shall be subject to a fine not exceeding Twenty-five dollars or imprisonment in jail not exceeding ten days, provided, however, that persons engaged in the land or naval forces of the United States shall not be required to obtain a permit to hunt upon the public lands of the Canal Zone.

Section 5. Penalties for infringements of this order imposed upon intoxicated or disorderly persons shall be in addition to the punishments authorized by law for such intoxicated or disorderly conduct.

Section 6. Sections 449 to 460, both inclusive, of the Penal Code, the Executive Order of December 1, 1909, issued by the Secretary of War by authority of the President, amending Section 450 and 456 of the Penal Code, and the Executive Order of the Secretary of War, issued by authority of the President, dated November 3, 1911, amending Section 456 of the Penal Code as amended by the Executive Order above mentioned, and all other laws, orders and decrees in conflict with this order are hereby repealed.

Section 7. This order shall take effect thirty days from and after its publication in the Canal Record.

WOODROW WILSON.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

[Fixing the Rate of Interest on Money.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 11, 1913.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me I hereby establish the following Executive Order for the Canal Zone:

Section 1. No rate of interest shall be allowed in excess of six per centum per annum upon any contract for the use or detention of money, unless the same is in writing and the interest agreed upon must not exceed twelve per centum per annum.

Section 2. All contracts whatsoever which may in any way, directly or indirectly, violate the preceding section by stipulating for a greater rate of interest than twelve per centum per annum, shall be void and of no effect for the amount or value of the interest only; but the principal sum of money or value of the contract may be received and recovered.

Section 3. When the interest received or collected for the use or detention of money exceeds the rate of twelve per centum per annum, it shall be deemed to be usurious, and the person or persons paying the same, or their legal representatives, may recover from the person, firm or corporation receiving such interest, the amount of the interest so received or collected, in any court of competent jurisdiction, within two years from the date of the payment of such interest.

Section 4. No evidence of usury shall be received on the trial of any case unless the same shall be pleaded and verified by the affidavit of the party wishing to avail himself of such defense.

Section 5. This order shall take effect thirty days from and after its publication in the Canal Record.

WOODROW WILSON.

FIRST ANNUAL ADDRESS.

[Delivered at a Joint Session of the two Houses of Congress, December 2, 1913.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

In pursuance of my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union," I take the liberty of addressing you on several matters which ought, as it seems to me, particularly to engage the attention of your honorable bodies, as of all who study the welfare and progress of the Nation.

I shall ask your indulgence if I venture to depart in some degree from the usual custom of setting before you in formal review the many matters which have engaged the attention and called for the action of the several departments of the Government or which look to them for early treatment in the future, because the list is long, very long, and would suffer in the abbreviation to which I should have to subject it. I shall submit to you the reports of the heads of the several departments, in which these subjects are set forth in careful detail, and beg that they may receive the thoughtful attention of your committees and of all Members of the Congress who may have the leisure to study them. Their obvious importance, as constituting the very substance of the business of the Government, makes comment and emphasis on my part unnecessary.

The country, I am thankful to say, is at peace with all the world, and many happy manifestations multiply about us of a growing cordiality and sense of community of interest among the nations, foreshadowing an age of settled peace and good will. More and more readily each decade do the nations manifest their willingness to bind themselves by solemn treaty to the processes of peace, the processes of frankness and fair concession. So far the United States has

stood at the front of such negotiations. She will, I earnestly hope and confidently believe, give fresh proof of her sincere adherence to the cause of international friendship by ratifying the several treaties of arbitration awaiting renewal by the Senate. In addition to these, it has been the privilege of the Department of State to gain the assent, in principle, of no less than 31 nations, representing four-fifths of the population of the world, to the negotiation of treaties by which it shall be agreed that whenever differences of interest or of policy arise which can not be resolved by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they shall be publicly analyzed, discussed, and reported upon by a tribunal chosen by the parties before either nation determines its course of action.

There is only one possible standard by which to determine controversies between the United States and other nations, and that is compounded of these two elements: Our own honor and our obligations to the peace of the world. A test so compounded ought easily to be made to govern both the establishment of new treaty obligations and the interpretation of those already assumed.

There is but one cloud upon our horizon. That has shown itself to the south of us, and hangs over Mexico. There can be no certain prospect of peace in America until Gen. Huerta has surrendered his usurped authority in Mexico; until it is understood on all hands, indeed, that such pretended governments will not be countenanced or dealt with by the Government of the United States. We are the friends of constitutional government in America; we are more than its friends, we are its champions; because in no other way can our neighbors, to whom we would wish in every way to make proof of our friendship, work out their own development in peace and liberty. Mexico has no Government. The attempt to maintain one at the City of Mexico has broken down, and a mere military despotism has been set up which has hardly more than the semblance of national authority. It originated in the usurpation of Victoriano Huerta, who, after a brief attempt to play the part of constitutional President, has at last cast aside even the pretense of legal right and declared himself dictator. As a consequence, a condition of affairs now exists in Mexico which has made it doubtful whether even the most elementary and fundamental rights either of her own people or of the citizens of other countries resident within her territory can long be successfully safeguarded, and which threatens, if long continued, to imperil the interests of peace, order, and tolerable life in the lands immediately to the south of us. Even if the usurper had succeeded in his purposes, in despite of the constitution of the Republic and the rights of its people, he would have set up nothing but a precarious and hateful power, which could have lasted but a little while, and whose eventual downfall would have left the coun-

try in a more deplorable condition than ever. But he has not succeeded. He has forfeited the respect and the moral support even of those who were at one time willing to see him succeed. Little by little he has been completely isolated. By a little every day his power and prestige are crumbling and the collapse is not far away. We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting. And then, when the end comes, we shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions.

I turn to matters of domestic concern. You already have under consideration a bill for the reform of our system of banking and currency, for which the country waits with impatience, as for something fundamental to its whole business life and necessary to set credit free from arbitrary and artificial restraints. I need not say how earnestly I hope for its early enactment into law. I take leave to beg that the whole energy and attention of the Senate be concentrated upon it till the matter is successfully disposed of. And yet I feel that the request is not needed—that the Members of that great House need no urging in this service to the country.

I present to you, in addition, the urgent necessity that special provision be made also for facilitating the credits needed by the farmers of the country. The pending currency bill does the farmers a great service. It puts them upon an equal footing with other business men and masters of enterprise, as it should; and upon its passage they will find themselves quit of many of the difficulties which now hamper them in the field of credit. The farmers, of course, ask and should be given no special privilege, such as extending to them the credit of the Government itself. What they need and should obtain is legislation which will make their own abundant and substantial credit resources available as a foundation for joint, concerted local action in their own behalf in getting the capital they must use. It is to this we should now address ourselves.

It has, singularly enough, come to pass that we have allowed the industry of our farms to lag behind the other activities of the country in its development. I need not stop to tell you how fundamental to the life of the Nation is the production of its food. Our thoughts may ordinarily be concentrated upon the cities and the hives of industry, upon the cries of the crowded market place and the clangor of the factory, but it is from the quiet interspaces of the open valleys and the free hillsides that we draw the sources of life and of prosperity, from the farm and the ranch, from the forest and the mine. Without these every street would be silent, every office deserted, every factory fallen into disrepair. And yet the farmer does not stand upon the same footing with the forester and the miner in the market of

credit. He is the servant of the seasons. Nature determines how long he must wait for his crops, and will not be hurried in her processes. He may give his note, but the season of its maturity depends upon the season when his crop matures, lies at the gates of the market where his products are sold. And the security he gives is of a character not known in the broker's office or as familiarly as it might be on the counter of the banker.

The Agricultural Department of the Government is seeking to assist as never before to make farming an efficient business, of wide co-operative effort, in quick touch with the markets for foodstuffs. The farmers and the Government will henceforth work together as real partners in this field, where we now begin to see our way very clearly and where many intelligent plans are already being put into execution. The Treasury of the United States has, by a timely and well-considered distribution of its deposits, facilitated the moving of the crops in the present season and prevented the scarcity of available funds too often experienced at such times. But we must not allow ourselves to depend upon extraordinary expedients. We must add the means by which the farmer may make his credit constantly and easily available and command when he will the capital by which to support and expand his business. We lag behind many other great countries of the modern world in attempting to do this. Systems of rural credit have been studied and developed on the other side of the water while we left our farmers to shift for themselves in the ordinary money market. You have but to look about you in any rural district to see the result, the handicap and embarrassment which have been put upon those who produce our food.

Conscious of this backwardness and neglect on our part, the Congress recently authorized the creation of a special commission to study the various systems of rural credit which have been put into operation in Europe, and this commission is already prepared to report. Its report ought to make it easier for us to determine what methods will be best suited to our own farmers. I hope and believe that the committees of the Senate and House will address themselves to this matter with the most fruitful results, and I believe that the studies and recently formed plans of the Department of Agriculture may be made to serve them very greatly in their work of framing appropriate and adequate legislation. It would be indiscreet and presumptuous in anyone to dogmatize upon so great and many-sided a question, but I feel confident that common counsel will produce the results we must all desire.

Turn from the farm to the world of business which centers in the city and in the factory, and I think that all thoughtful observers will agree that the immediate service we owe the business communities of the country is to prevent private monopoly more effectually than it

has yet been prevented. I think it will be easily agreed that we should let the Sherman anti-trust law stand, unaltered, as it is, with its debatable ground about it, but that we should as much as possible reduce the area of that debatable ground by further and more explicit legislation; and should also supplement that great act by legislation which will not only clarify it but also facilitate its administration and make it fairer to all concerned. No doubt we shall all wish, and the country will expect, this to be the central subject of our deliberations during the present session; but it is a subject so many-sided and so deserving of careful and discriminating discussion that I shall take the liberty of addressing you upon it in a special message at a later date than this. It is of capital importance that the business men of this country should be relieved of all uncertainties of law with regard to their enterprises and investments and a clear path indicated which they can travel without anxiety. It is as important that they should be relieved of embarrassment and set free to prosper as that private monopoly should be destroyed. The ways of action should be thrown wide open.

I turn to a subject which I hope can be handled promptly and without serious controversy of any kind. I mean the method of selecting nominees for the Presidency of the United States. I feel confident that I do not misinterpret the wishes or the expectations of the country when I urge the prompt enactment of legislation which will provide for primary elections throughout the country at which the voters of the several parties may choose their nominees for the Presidency without the intervention of nominating conventions. I venture the suggestion that this legislation should provide for the retention of party conventions, but only for the purpose of declaring and accepting the verdict of the primaries and formulating the platforms of the parties; and I suggest that these conventions should consist not of delegates chosen for this single purpose, but of the nominees for Congress, the nominees for vacant seats in the Senate of the United States, the Senators whose terms have not yet closed, the national committees, and the candidates for the Presidency themselves, in order that platforms may be framed by those responsible to the people for carrying them into effect.

These are all matters of vital domestic concern, and besides them, outside the charmed circle of our own national life in which our affections command us, as well as our consciences, there stand out our obligations toward our territories over sea. Here we are trustees. Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, are ours, indeed, but not ours to do what we please with. Such territories, once regarded as mere possessions, are no longer to be selfishly exploited; they are part of the domain of public conscience and of serviceable and enlightened statesmanship. We must administer them for the people who

live in them and with the same sense of responsibility to them as toward our own people in our domestic affairs. No doubt we shall successfully enough bind Porto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands to ourselves by ties of justice and interest and affection, but the performance of our duty toward the Philippines is a more difficult and debatable matter. We can satisfy the obligations of generous justice toward the people of Porto Rico by giving them the ample and familiar rights and privileges accorded our own citizens in our own territories and our obligations toward the people of Hawaii by perfecting the provisions for self-government already granted them, but in the Philippines we must go further. We must hold steadily in view their ultimate independence, and we must move toward the time of that independence as steadily as the way can be cleared and the foundations thoughtfully and permanently laid.

Acting under the authority conferred upon the President by Congress, I have already accorded the people of the islands a majority in both houses of their legislative body by appointing five instead of four native citizens to the membership of the commission. I believe that in this way we shall make proof of their capacity in counsel and their sense of responsibility in the exercise of political power, and that the success of this step will be sure to clear our view for the steps which are to follow. Step by step we should extend and perfect the system of self-government in the islands, making test of them and modifying them as experience discloses their successes and their failures; that we should more and more put under the control of the native citizens of the archipelago the essential instruments of their life, their local instrumentalities of government, their schools, all the common interests of their communities, and so by counsel and experience set up a government which all the world will see to be suitable to a people whose affairs are under their own control. At last, I hope and believe, we are beginning to gain the confidence of the Filipino peoples. By their counsel and experience, rather than by our own, we shall learn how best to serve them and how soon it will be possible and wise to withdraw our supervision. Let us once find the path and set out with firm and confident tread upon it and we shall not wander from it or linger upon it.

A duty faces us with regard to Alaska which seems to me very pressing and very imperative; perhaps I should say a double duty, for it concerns both the political and the material development of the Territory. The people of Alaska should be given the full Territorial form of government, and Alaska, as a storehouse, should be unlocked. One key to it is a system of railways. These the Government should itself build and administer, and the ports and terminals it should itself control in the interest of all who wish to use them for the service and development of the country and its people.

But the construction of railways is only the first step; is only thrusting in the key to the storehouse and throwing back the lock and opening the door. How the tempting resources of the country are to be exploited is another matter, to which I shall take the liberty of from time to time calling your attention, for it is a policy which must be worked out by well-considered stages, not upon theory, but upon lines of practical expediency. It is part of our general problem of conservation. We have a freer hand in working out the problem in Alaska than in the States of the Union; and yet the principle and object are the same, wherever we touch it. We must use the resources of the country, not lock them up. There need be no conflict or jealousy as between State and Federal authorities, for there can be no essential difference of purpose between them. The resources in question must be used, but not destroyed or wasted; used, but not monopolized upon any narrow idea of individual rights as against the abiding interests of communities. That a policy can be worked out by conference and concession which will release these resources and yet not jeopard or dissipate them, I for one have no doubt; and it can be done on lines of regulation which need be no less acceptable to the people and governments of the States concerned than to the people and Government of the Nation at large, whose heritage these resources are. We must bend our counsels to this end. A common purpose ought to make agreement easy.

Three or four matters of special importance and significance I beg that you will permit me to mention in closing.

Our Bureau of Mines ought to be equipped and empowered to render even more effectual service than it renders now in improving the conditions of mine labor and making the mines more economically productive as well as more safe. This is an all-important part of the work of conservation; and the conservation of human life and energy lies even nearer to our interests than the preservation from waste of our material resources.

We owe it, in mere justice to the railway employees of the country, to provide for them a fair and effective employers' liability act; and a law that we can stand by in this matter will be no less to the advantage of those who administer the railroads of the country than to the advantage of those whom they employ. The experience of a large number of the States abundantly proves that.

We ought to devote ourselves to meeting pressing demands of plain justice like this as earnestly as to the accomplishment of political and economic reforms. Social justice comes first. Law is the machinery for its realization and is vital only as it expresses and embodies it.

An international congress for the discussion of all questions that affect safety at sea is now sitting in London at the suggestion of our

own Government. So soon as the conclusions of that congress can be learned and considered we ought to address ourselves, among other things, to the prompt alleviation of the very unsafe, unjust, and burdensome conditions which now surround the employment of sailors and render it extremely difficult to obtain the services of spirited and competent men such as every ship needs if it is to be safely handled and brought to port.

May I not express the very real pleasure I have experienced in co-operating with this Congress and sharing with it the labors of common service to which it has devoted itself so unreservedly during the past seven months of uncomplaining concentration upon the business of legislation? Surely it is a proper and pertinent part of my report on "the state of the Union" to express my admiration for the diligence, the good temper, and the full comprehension of public duty which has already been manifested by both the Houses; and I hope that it may not be deemed an impertinent intrusion of myself into the picture if I say with how much and how constant satisfaction I have availed myself of the privilege of putting my time and energy at their disposal alike in counsel and in action.

SPECIAL ADDRESS.

[Additional Legislation for the Control of Trusts and Monopolies. Delivered at a Joint Session of the two Houses of Congress, January 20, 1914.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

In my report "on the state of the Union," which I had the privilege of reading to you on the 2d of December last, I ventured to reserve for discussion at a later date the subject of additional legislation regarding the very difficult and intricate matter of trusts and monopolies. The time now seems opportune to turn to that great question; not only because the currency legislation, which absorbed your attention and the attention of the country in December, is now disposed of, but also because opinion seems to be clearing about us with singular rapidity in this other great field of action. In the matter of the currency it cleared suddenly and very happily after the much-debated Act was passed; in respect of the monopolies which have multiplied about us and in regard to the various means by which they have been organized and maintained it seems to be coming to a clear and all but universal agreement in anticipation of our action, as if by way of preparation, making the way easier to see and easier to set out upon with confidence and without confusion of counsel.

Legislation has its atmosphere like everything else, and the atmosphere of accommodation and mutual understanding which we now

breathe with so much refreshment is matter of sincere congratulation. It ought to make our task very much less difficult and embarrassing than it would have been had we been obliged to continue to act amidst the atmosphere of suspicion and antagonism which has so long made it impossible to approach such questions with dispassionate fairness. Constructive legislation, when successful, is always the embodiment of convincing experience, and of the mature public opinion which finally springs out of that experience. Legislation is a business of interpretation, not of origination; and it is now plain what the opinion is to which we must give effect in this matter. It is not recent or hasty opinion. It springs out of the experience of a whole generation. It has clarified itself by long contest, and those who for a long time battled with it and sought to change it are now frankly and honorably yielding to it and seeking to conform their actions to it.

The great business men who organized and financed monopoly and those who administered it in actual everyday transactions have year after year, until now, either denied its existence or justified it as necessary for the effective maintenance and development of the vast business processes of the country in the modern circumstances of trade and manufacture and finance; but all the while opinion has made head against them. The average business man is convinced that the ways of liberty are also the ways of peace and the ways of success as well; and at last the masters of business on the great scale have begun to yield their preference and purpose, perhaps their judgment also, in honorable surrender.

What we are purposing to do, therefore, is, happily, not to hamper or interfere with business as enlightened business men prefer to do it, or in any sense to put it under the ban. The antagonism between business and government is over. We are now about to give expression to the best business judgment of America, to what we know to be the business conscience and honor of the land. The Government and business men are ready to meet each other half way in a common effort to square business methods with both public opinion and the law. The best informed men of the business world condemn the methods and processes and consequences of monopoly as we condemn them; and the instinctive judgment of the vast majority of business men everywhere goes with them. We shall now be their spokesmen. That is the strength of our position and the sure prophecy of what will ensue when our reasonable work is done.

When serious contest ends, when men unite in opinion and purpose, those who are to change their ways of business joining with those who ask for the change, it is possible to effect it in the way in which prudent and thoughtful and patriotic men would wish to see it brought about, with as few, as slight, as easy and simple business readjustments as possible in the circumstances, nothing essential disturbed,

nothing torn up by the roots, no parts rent asunder which can be left in wholesome combination. Fortunately, no measures of sweeping or novel change are necessary. It will be understood that our object is *not* to unsettle business or anywhere seriously to break its established courses athwart. On the contrary, we desire the laws we are now about to pass to be the bulwarks and safeguards of industry against the forces that have disturbed it. What we have to do can be done in a new spirit, in thoughtful moderation, without revolution of any untoward kind.

We are all agreed that "private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," and our programme is founded upon that conviction. It will be a comprehensive but not a radical or unacceptable programme and these are its items, the changes which opinion deliberately sanctions and for which business waits:

It waits with acquiescence, in the first place, for laws which will effectually prohibit and prevent such interlockings of the *personnel* of the directorates of great corporations—banks and railroads, industrial, commercial, and public service bodies—as in effect result in making those who borrow and those who lend practically one and the same, those who sell and those who buy but the same persons trading with one another under different names and in different combinations, and those who affect to compete in fact partners and masters of some whole field of business. Sufficient time should be allowed, of course, in which to effect these changes of organization without inconvenience or confusion.

Such a prohibition will work much more than a mere negative good by correcting the serious evils which have arisen because, for example, the men who have been the directing spirits of the great investment banks have usurped the place which belongs to independent industrial management working in its own behoof. It will bring new men, new energies, a new spirit of initiative, new blood, into the management of our great business enterprises. It will open the field of industrial development and origination to scores of men who have been obliged to serve when their abilities entitled them to direct. It will immensely hearten the young men coming on and will greatly enrich the business activities of the whole country.

In the second place, business men as well as those who direct public affairs now recognize, and recognize with painful clearness, the great harm and injustice which has been done to many, if not all, of the great railroad systems of the country by the way in which they have been financed and their own distinctive interests subordinated to the interests of the men who financed them and of other business enterprises which those men wished to promote. The country is ready, therefore, to accept, and accept with relief as well as approval, a law which will confer upon the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to

superintend and regulate the financial operations by which the railroads are henceforth to be supplied with the money they need for their proper development to meet the rapidly growing requirements of the country for increased and improved facilities of transportation. We can not postpone action in this matter without leaving the railroads exposed to many serious handicaps and hazards; and the prosperity of the railroads and the prosperity of the country are inseparably connected. Upon this question those who are chiefly responsible for the actual management and operation of the railroads have spoken very plainly and very earnestly, with a purpose we ought to be quick to accept. It will be one step, and a very important one, toward the necessary separation of the business of production from the business of transportation.

The business of the country awaits also, has long awaited and has suffered because it could not obtain, further and more explicit legislative definition of the policy and meaning of the existing antitrust law. Nothing hampers business like uncertainty. Nothing daunts or discourages it like the necessity to take chances, to run the risk of falling under the condemnation of the law before it can make sure just what the law is. Surely we are sufficiently familiar with the actual processes and methods of monopoly and of the many hurtful restraints of trade to make definition possible, at any rate up to the limits of what experience has disclosed. These practices, being now abundantly disclosed, can be explicitly and item by item forbidden by statute in such terms as will practically eliminate uncertainty, the law itself and the penalty being made equally plain.

And the business men of the country desire something more than that the menace of legal process in these matters be made explicit and intelligible. They desire the advice, the definite guidance and information which can be supplied by an administrative body, an interstate trade commission.

The opinion of the country would instantly approve of such a commission. It would not wish to see it empowered to make terms with monopoly or in any sort to assume control of business, as if the Government made itself responsible. It demands such a commission only as an indispensable instrument of information and publicity, as a clearing house for the facts by which both the public mind and the managers of great business undertakings should be guided, and as an instrumentality for doing justice to business where the processes of the courts or the natural forces of correction outside the courts are inadequate to adjust the remedy to the wrong in a way that will meet all the equities and circumstances of the case.

Producing industries, for example, which have passed the point up to which combination may be consistent with the public interest and the freedom of trade, can not always be dissected into their com-

ponent units as readily as railroad companies or similar organizations can be. Their dissolution by ordinary legal process may oftentimes involve financial consequences likely to overwhelm the security market and bring upon it breakdown and confusion. There ought to be an administrative commission capable of directing and shaping such corrective processes, not only in aid of the courts but also by independent suggestion, if necessary.

Inasmuch as our object and the spirit of our action in these matters is to meet business half way in its processes of self-correction and disturb its legitimate course as little as possible, we ought to see to it, and the judgment of practical and sagacious men of affairs everywhere would applaud us if we did see to it, that penalties and punishments should fall, not upon business itself, to its confusion and interruption, but upon the individuals who use the instrumentalities of business to do things which public policy and sound business practice condemn. Every act of business is done at the command or upon the initiative of some ascertainable person or group of persons. These should be held individually responsible and the punishment should fall upon them, not upon the business organization of which they make illegal use. It should be one of the main objects of our legislation to divest such persons of their corporate cloak and deal with them as with those who do not represent their corporations, but merely by deliberate intention break the law. Business men the country through would, I am sure, applaud us if we were to take effectual steps to see that the officers and directors of great business bodies were prevented from bringing them and the business of the country into disrepute and danger.

Other questions remain which will need very thoughtful and practical treatment. Enterprises, in these modern days of great individual fortunes, are oftentimes interlocked, not by being under the control of the same directors, but by the fact that the greater part of their corporate stock is owned by a single person or group of persons who are in some way intimately related in interest. We are agreed, I take it, that holding *companies* should be prohibited, but what of the controlling private ownership of individuals or actually co-operative groups of individuals? Shall the private owners of capital stock be suffered to be themselves in effect holding companies? We do not wish, I suppose, to forbid the purchase of stocks by any person who pleases to buy them in such quantities as he can afford, or in any way arbitrarily to limit the sale of stocks to bona fide purchasers. Shall we require the owners of stock, when their voting power in several companies which ought to be independent of one another would constitute actual control, to make election in which of them they will exercise their right to vote? This question I venture for your consideration.

There is another matter in which imperative considerations of justice and fair play suggest thoughtful remedial action. Not only do many of the combinations effected or sought to be effected in the industrial world work an injustice upon the public in general; they also directly and seriously injure the individuals who are put out of business in one unfair way or another by the many dislodging and exterminating forces of combination. I hope that we shall agree in giving private individuals who claim to have been injured by these processes the right to found their suits for redress upon the facts and judgments proved and entered in suits by the Government where the Government has upon its own initiative sued the combinations complained of and won its suit, and that the statute of limitations shall be suffered to run against such litigants only from the date of the conclusion of the Government's action. It is not fair that the private litigant should be obliged to set up and establish again the facts which the Government has proved. He can not afford, he has not the power, to make use of such processes of inquiry as the Government has command of. Thus shall individual justice be done while the processes of business are rectified and squared with the general conscience.

I have laid the case before you, no doubt as it lies in your own mind, as it lies in the thought of the country. What must every candid man say of the suggestions I have laid before you, of the plain obligations of which I have reminded you? That these are new things for which the country is not prepared? No; but that they are old things, now familiar, and must of course be undertaken if we are to square our laws with the thought and desire of the country. Until these things are done, conscientious business men the country over will be unsatisfied. They are in these things our mentors and colleagues. We are now about to write the additional articles of our constitution of peace, the peace that is honor and freedom and prosperity.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

[To Prevent the Corrupt Influencing of Agents, Employees or Servants in the Canal Zone.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 21, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me I hereby establish the following Executive order for the Canal Zone:

Section 1. It shall be unlawful for any person to give, offer or promise to an agent, employee or servant, any gift or gratuity whatever without the knowledge and consent of the principal, employer or master of such agent, employee or servant with intent to influence his action in relation to the business of his principal, employer, or master;

or for any agent, employee or servant, without the knowledge and consent of his principal, employer or master, to request or accept a gift, or gratuity, or the promise of any gift or gratuity whatever beneficial to himself, under an agreement or with an understanding that he shall act in any particular manner in respect to the business of his principal, employer, or master; or for any agent, employee or servant authorized to procure materials, supplies or other articles either by purchase or contract for his principal, employer or master, or to employ servants or labor for his principal, employer or master, to request or accept or agree to accept, for himself or another, directly or indirectly, a commission, discount or bonus from the person who makes the sale or contract, or furnishes such materials, supplies or articles or from the person who renders such service or labor; or for any person to give or offer to such agent, employee, or servant such commission, discount or bonus.

A violation of any of the provisions of this order shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten dollars nor more than five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment in jail for not more than one year, or both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the Court.

Sec. 2. This order shall take effect thirty days from and after its publication in the Canal Record.

WOODROW WILSON.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

[To Prevent Fire-hunting at Night, and Hunting by Means of a Spring or Trap in the Canal Zone, and to Repeal the Executive Order of September 8, 1909.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 27, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me I hereby establish the following order for the Canal Zone.

Section 1. Every person who shall hunt at night, between the hours of sunset and sunrise, with the aid or use of a lantern, torch, bonfire, or other artificial light, or who shall hunt by the use of a gun or other firearm intended to be discharged by an animal or bird, by means of a spring or trap, or other similar mechanical device, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

The penalties imposed by this Order shall be in addition to the punishments authorized by the law against carrying arms without a permit.

Sec. 2. The Executive Order of September 8, 1909, amending Section 454 of the Penal Code of the Canal Zone, is hereby repealed.

Sec. 3. This order shall take effect thirty days from and after its publication in the Canal Record.

WOODROW WILSON.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

[To Establish a Permanent Organization for the Operation and Government of the Panama Canal.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 27, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me, I hereby enact the following order, creating a permanent organization for the Panama Canal, under the Act of Congress "To provide for the opening, maintenance, protection and operation of the Panama Canal and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone," approved August 24, 1912.

Section 1. The organization for the completion, maintenance, operation, government and sanitation of the Panama Canal and its adjuncts and the government of the Canal Zone shall consist of the following departments, offices and agencies, and such others as may be established by the Governor of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus or elsewhere with the approval of the President, all to be under the direction of the Governor, subject to the supervision of the Secretary of War.

DEPARTMENT OF OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE.

There shall be a Department of Operation and Maintenance under the immediate supervision and direction of the Governor of the Panama Canal. This Department shall be charged with the construction of the Canal and with its operation and maintenance when completed, including all matters relating to traffic of the Canal and its adjuncts, and the operation and maintenance of beacons, lights and lighthouses; the supervision of ports and waterways, including pilotage; the admeasuring and inspecting of vessels, including hulls and boilers; the operation and maintenance of the Panama Railroad upon the Isthmus, including telephone and telegraph systems; the operation of locks, coal-ing plants, shops, dry-docks and wharves; office engineering, including meteorology and hydrography; the construction of buildings and sanitary and municipal engineering, including the construction and maintenance of drainage ditches, streets, roads and bridges.

PURCHASING DEPARTMENT.

There shall be a Purchasing Department under the supervision and direction of the Governor. This department shall be charged with the purchase of all supplies, machinery or necessary plant.

SUPPLY DEPARTMENT.

There shall be a Supply Department, under the supervision and direction of the Chief Quartermaster. This department shall store and distribute all material and supplies for use of the Panama Canal and of its employees; and for other departments of the Government on the

Isthmus and their employees; and for vessels of the United States and for other vessels, when required. The Supply Department shall operate commissaries, hotels and messes; shall be in charge of the maintenance of buildings, the assignment of quarters and the care of grounds; shall recruit and distribute unskilled labor; and shall have charge of the necessary animal transportation.

ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT.

There shall be an Accounting Department under the supervision and direction of the Auditor, with an assistant in the United States. The duties of the department shall include all general bookkeeping, auditing and accounting, both for money and property, costkeeping, the examination of payrolls and vouchers, the inspection of time books and of money and property accounts, the preparation of statistical data, and the administrative examination of such accounts as are required to be submitted to the United States Treasury Department; and the collection, custody and disbursement of funds for the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone. These same duties shall be performed for the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus when not inconsistent with the charter and by-laws of that Company. The department shall be charged with the handling of claims for compensation on account of personal injuries and of claims for damages to vessels. Within the limits fixed by law, the duties and financial responsibilities of the officers and employees charged with the receipt, custody, disbursement, auditing and accounting for funds and property shall be prescribed in regulations issued by the Governor, with the approval of the President. The Auditor shall maintain such a system of bookkeeping as will enable him to furnish at any time full, complete and correct information in regard to the status of appropriations made by Congress, the status of all other funds, and the amounts of net profits on all operations, which are to be covered into the Treasury as required by the Panama Canal Act.

HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

There shall be a Health Department under the supervision and direction of the Chief Health Officer. This department shall be charged with all matters relating to maritime sanitation and quarantine in the ports and waters of the Canal Zone and in the harbors of the cities of Panama and Colon, and with land sanitation in the Canal Zone, and sanitary matters in said cities in conformity with the Canal Treaty between the United States and the Republic of Panama and existing agreements between the two governments thereunder, and all matters relating to hospitals and charities.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

There shall be an Executive Secretary who, under the direction of the Governor of the Panama Canal, shall be charged with the supervision of all matters relating to the keeping of time of employees; to postoffices, customs, taxes and excises, excepting the collection thereof; police and prison; fire protection; land office; schools, clubs and law library; the custody of files and records; and the administration of estates of deceased and insane employees. He shall, in person or through one of his assistants, perform the duties of a Shipping Commissioner. He shall conduct all correspondence and communications between the authorities of the Canal Zone and the Government of the Republic of Panama and such other correspondence as may be given him in charge by the Governor. He shall have charge of the seal of the Government of the Canal Zone and shall attest such acts of the Government as are required by law to be performed and done under the seal.

The duties herein prescribed for the foregoing departments, offices and agencies will be assigned to divisions or bureaus thereunder by the Governor of the Panama Canal, as the necessities therefor arise. Each of the foregoing departments shall discharge such further duties as may be assigned to it from time to time by the Governor; and the Governor, with the approval of the President, may transfer from time to time specific duties from one department to another.

Sec. 2. The organization provided for in Section 1 shall be, in general, in accordance with the outline chart accompanying the memorandum of January 27, 1914, entitled "Memorandum to Accompany Executive Order of January 27, 1914, Providing for a Permanent Organization for the Panama Canal," and officers from certain departments shall be detailed in accordance with that memorandum.

Sec. 3. This order shall take effect from and after the 1st day of April, 1914, from which date the Isthmian Canal Commission, together with the present organization for the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone, shall cease to exist, in accordance with the terms of the above-mentioned Act of Congress.

WOODROW WILSON.

MEMORANDUM TO ACCOMPANY EXECUTIVE ORDER OF JANUARY 27, 1914,
PROVIDING FOR A PERMANENT ORGANIZATION FOR
THE PANAMA CANAL.

In construing and carrying out the foregoing order, I direct that it be done with the following considerations in view:

I have deemed it advisable for reasons of efficiency, economy and good administration to have all the activities connected with the Panama Canal under the supervision of one Cabinet officer.

The troops which will be stationed on the Canal Zone for the protection of the Panama Canal are under the Secretary of War; the Panama Canal Act provides that in time of war an Officer of the Army shall, upon the order of the President, have exclusive authority over the operation of the Panama Canal and the Government of the Canal Zone; the construction of the Canal has been successfully carried on under the supervision of the Secretary of War; the logical conclusion is, therefore, that the supervision of the operations of the Panama Canal under the permanent organization should be under the Secretary of War.

It is directed that officers shall be detailed for certain duties from the several departments as follows:

As Engineer of Maintenance, an Officer of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, who shall act as Governor in the absence or disability of the Governor of the Panama Canal.

As Superintendent of Transportation, an Officer of the U. S. Navy.

As Electrical Engineer, an Officer of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army.

As Captains of the Terminal Ports, Officers of the U. S. Navy.

As Superintendent of Shops and Dry Docks, a Naval Constructor, U. S. Navy.

As Chief Health Officer, an Officer of the Medical Corps, U. S. Army.

As Superintendent of Hospitals, an Officer of the Medical Corps, U. S. Army.

As Chief Officer of the Quarantine Division, an Officer of the U. S. Bureau of the Public Health.

As Chief Quartermaster, an Officer of the Quartermaster Corps, U. S. Army.

The organization is to be in general accordance with the chart accompanying this memorandum, except that all of the various divisions and sub-divisions need not be established until in the opinion of the Governor it is desirable to do so, the organization being expanded gradually as the necessities of the work require.

WOODROW WILSON.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

[Providing Conditions of Employment for the Permanent Force for the Panama Canal, the Canal Zone, the Panama Railroad, etc.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 2, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me by law, it is hereby ordered that the general conditions of employment governing employees on the

Isthmus of Panama, necessary for the completion, care, management, maintenance, sanitation, government and operation of the Panama Canal, the Canal Zone, the Panama Railroad, and other adjuncts, shall be as follows:

APPOINTMENT AND COMPENSATION.

1. The salaries or compensation of employees shall in no instance exceed by more than twenty-five per centum the salaries or compensation paid for the same or similar services to persons employed by the Government in Continental United States, as determined by the Governor of the Panama Canal.

2. Service must be satisfactory to the head of the department in which employed, and employees are subject to the regulations of the Governor.

3. The compensation and conditions of employment of persons employed in the United States will be specified in provisional appointments. The compensation of such persons will begin upon date of embarkation at port of departure from the United States, and they will be granted free transportation from port of departure, including meals on the steamer, but no compensation or expenses for the journey to the port; but former employees from the United States whose next preceding service with the Panama Canal was less than one year shall be paid only from date of entry into service on the Isthmus, and will be allowed only such reduced rates of transportation to the Isthmus as may be available for Government employees. Employees appointed at an hourly rate will be paid for the period of transit to the Isthmus on the basis of an eight hour day exclusive of Sundays. Except in case of discharge or other separation from the service beyond the employee's control, payment of salary from date of embarkation to date of arrival on the Isthmus will not be made unless service on the Isthmus continues for thirty days.

4. All officers and employees in the service of the Panama Canal except those who are to perform the duties of clerk, bookkeeper, stenographer, typewriter, surgeon, physician, trained nurse, or draftsman, shall be exempt from examination under Civil Service rules, and appointments to clerical positions on the Isthmus of Panama paying \$75.00 per month or less may also be made without examination. Officers and employees now in the service of the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus may be transferred to and retained in the service of the Panama Canal without examination, whenever any work now performed independently by the Panama Railroad is consolidated with similar work performed by the Panama Canal.

5. When employees in the present organization are transferred to the permanent organization, they shall retain their seniority as regards questions of Civil Service, quarters, and other privileges or considera-

tions; provided, however, that the seniority granted to employees by this order shall not be operative in any case so as to form any claim involving the payment of funds of the United States.

6. All employees who receive over \$75.00 per month or over 40c. per hour must be citizens of the United States or the Republic of Panama, and such citizens will be given preference for employment in all grades. Aliens may not be employed in such grades unless

- (a) they have occupied similar positions during the construction of the Canal for two years or more, or
- (b) in case of emergency, in which latter case they must be replaced by citizens of the United States or Republic of Panama as early as practicable.

7. The Governor shall prescribe regulations, when not otherwise fixed in this order, setting forth the qualifications necessary for appointment of the various classes of employees, including physical fitness for work on the Isthmus. The age limit shall in all cases be under 45 years, but the Governor may waive this limit when in his judgment such action is for the good of the service.

8. All appointments shall be made by the Governor of the Panama Canal, or by his authority, except the district judge, district attorney, marshal, clerk of district court and his assistant.

9. Assignment to duty is vested in the respective heads of the departments, and employees will be expected to perform such duties as may properly be assigned to them. The Governor may discharge an employee at any time for cause, and terminate a provisional appointment when the exigencies of the service so require.

10. The Government reserves the right to pay in any money the value or parity of which is guaranteed by the United States.

11. Employees whose salaries are fixed on a monthly or annual basis will receive no pay for overtime work.

12. Employees above the grade of laborer, appointed with rates of pay per hour or per day, will not be employed over eight hours in any one calendar day, except in case of emergency. The time such employees work over eight hours in one calendar day, and time worked on Sundays and regularly authorized holidays, including January 1st, February 22d, May 30th, July 4th, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, and December 25th, shall be considered overtime, for which time and one-half will be allowed. Such employees who work on the days prior and subsequent to the holidays specifically named above will be allowed their regular pay for eight hours for such days, in addition to pay for any work performed.

13. An employee whose compensation while on duty carries with it subsistence will not be entitled to same or commutation thereof while on leave of absence, and no commutation of quarters shall be paid.

TRANSPORTATION.

14. Employees and dependent members of their families will be granted the regular Government rate upon commercial steamship lines with which arrangements for such rates can be made. While the United States operates a steamship line, either directly or through the Panama Railroad Company, employees and the dependent members of their families will be granted transportation at the same rates and under the same conditions as are at present in effect. The rates and conditions are subject to change at any time in the discretion of the Governor.

15. After three years' service, employees who are citizens of the United States will be entitled to free transportation for themselves only, on termination of service, to any port of the United States, except that when such transportation costs the Government more than \$40.00 the employee must pay the excess.

16. Employees on the gold roll will be granted one complimentary round-trip pass on the Panama Railroad each calendar month. Mileage books for use of such employees and dependent members of their families or relatives temporarily residing with them, will be furnished at one-half regular tariff rates.

QUARTERS.

17. Where practicable, such bachelor quarters on the Isthmus as may be available from time to time will be assigned all employees desiring them. Family quarters, when available, will be assigned under such rules as may be prescribed by the Governor. A charge will be made for rent, fuel, and electric current at such time and in accordance with such regulations as the President may hereafter establish.

MEDICAL CARE.

18. Employees injured will be compensated in accordance with such regulations as are prescribed by law.

19. All employees in cases of illness or injury will receive free medical care and attendance in the hospitals, except in cases of alcoholism or venereal disease. If medical attendance is furnished in quarters, a charge may be made under regulations to be prescribed by the Governor. Employees will be charged for medical care and attendance furnished members of their families at the hospitals and at their quarters at such rates and under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Governor.

LEAVE REGULATIONS.

20. All employees who are citizens of the United States, and aliens whose compensation is more than \$75.00 per month or 40c. per hour, shall be entitled to leave privileges.

21. Leave will be divided into three classes, viz.: (1) annual leave, (2) cumulative leave, and (3) travel leave.

ANNUAL LEAVE.

22. Twenty-four days annual leave will be allowed each employee for each year after entry into service and, if not granted prior to the close of the year, is forfeited and may not be accumulated, except that any annual leave remaining to an employee's credit in a year in which he is granted cumulative leave may be added to the cumulative leave if taken within two months after the close of his service year.

23. The service year shall date from the day on which an employee's pay in the permanent organization begins.

24. Absences of one-half day or more, when regularly authorized, will be charged against annual leave; also absences on account of illness or injury, upon the certificate of an authorized physician in the service of the Panama Canal, except that in the following classes of cases no payment shall be made for time lost, but the time shall be charged against the annual leave:

- (a) Illness due to the fault of the employee, as venereal disease and alcoholism.
- (b) Injury due to the employee's wilful intention to bring about the injury or death of himself or another.
- (c) Elective surgical operations to relieve conditions existing prior to service on the Isthmus.

25. In the case of hourly or per diem employees annual leave on account of sickness or injury shall be based upon a day of eight hours.

26. Not more than fourteen days annual leave may be taken during the first six months of a service year. In case of illness or injury in the first six months, to cover which no annual leave remains to the employee's credit, the time lost will be charged against the annual leave remaining for the year, and payment will be made after completing ten months of the service year. After the entire twenty-four days annual leave has been used, additional leave in that service year on account of illness or injury will be deducted from the cumulative leave for that year and when the cumulative leave becomes due the employee will be paid.

27. After exhausting both annual and cumulative leave for the year, additional absence on account of illness or injury will be without pay, except such compensation as may be prescribed by law for employees receiving personal injuries.

CUMULATIVE LEAVE.

28. Thirty days cumulative leave will be allowed each employee paid on a monthly or annual basis for each year of his service, and twenty

days to each employee paid on an hourly basis. This leave will be due after completing ten months' service each year and may be taken when the employee's service can be spared. It may be taken annually or left to accumulate to the credit of the employee, provided, however, that leave may not be accumulated for more than three years. If it is not desired to take the entire leave accumulated, the leave earned for the first year, or the first and second years, may be taken, provided that no employee, except at termination of service, may be granted more than ninety days leave with pay at one time. Employees will be paid for cumulative leave at the rate earned when the leave became due at the end of the tenth month of each respective year.

29. In case an employee serves part of a year on the monthly or annual basis and part on the hourly basis, he will be allowed twenty days cumulative leave, except that if he has served eight months or more on the monthly or annual basis during the year he will be granted thirty days cumulative leave.

TRAVEL LEAVE.

30. Employees who travel to points outside the tropics, when on cumulative leave, will be allowed seven days additional leave (or travel leave) with full pay. Travel leave may be allowed approximately once a year and is not cumulative.

31. Employees will be compensated for travel leave and annual leave taken in conjunction with cumulative leave at the rate earned when cumulative leave last became due.

32. After accumulating leave for three years, an employee ceases to earn additional cumulative leave until he is granted all or part of the cumulative leave already earned, unless he shall enter on cumulative leave within two months after completing the third year, or be ordered by the Governor to defer taking leave for official reasons.

33. When an employee's services are terminated on account of misconduct or unsatisfactory service, any annual leave due and travel leave will be forfeited, and cumulative leave will also be forfeited unless written notification has been given that the employee has accumulated the leave, or the four months period within which the employee may enter on leave has passed. Such written notice must be given by employees as soon as possible after cumulative leave becomes due.

34. When an employee's service is terminated, a cash payment in commutation of leave will be made to him for the number of days' cumulative leave due, plus the annual leave due. In the event of his death his estate will be paid the sum due.

35. Employees must enter on cumulative leave within four months after the date when it becomes due, except when accumulated, or unless otherwise authorized by the Governor.

36. Employees must report from leave within one week after the authorized leave expires or forfeit pay for the leave. In case of unavoidable delay, the Governor will decide whether the circumstances warrant an exception to this rule.

37. No restrictions are placed on the localities where leave may be spent.

38. Any employee transferred from the present force to the permanent operating force will be paid at the time of transfer, in addition to his regular compensation, the amount he would have received in payment for leave had he been separated from the service at the time of transfer.

39. Leave may be taken only at the convenience of heads of departments, who may direct an employee to accumulate his leave if necessary for the conduct of the work.

40. Leave without pay may be granted by the Governor to all employees, including laborers, for such period as may be prescribed by him.

OFFICE HOURS AND HOURS OF LABOR.

41. Office hours and hours of labor will be fixed by the Governor within the limits prescribed by law.

42. This order shall take effect from and after the 1st day of April, 1914.

WOODROW WILSON.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

[Exportation of Arms or Munitions of War to Mexico.]

Whereas, by a Proclamation of the President issued on March 14, 1912, under a Joint Resolution of Congress approved by the President on the same day, it was declared that there existed in Mexico conditions of domestic violence which were promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States; and

Whereas, by the Joint Resolution above mentioned it thereupon became unlawful to export arms or munitions of war to Mexico except under such limitations and exceptions as the President should prescribe:

Now, therefore, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, hereby declare and proclaim that, as the conditions on which the Proclamation of March 14, 1912, was based have essentially changed, and as it is desirable to place the United States with reference

to the exportation of arms or munitions of war to Mexico in the same position as other Powers, the said Proclamation is hereby revoked.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this third day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, [SEAL] and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-eighth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

[To Establish a Washington Office of The Panama Canal, to Provide Temporarily for the Organization, Officials and Employees Thereof, and to Continue in Force for The Panama Canal, Rules, Regulations, and Executive Orders which may have been made for the Isthmian Canal Commission.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 2, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me it is hereby ordered:

Section 1. That an office of The Panama Canal is established in the City of Washington in the District of Columbia.

Sec. 2. That the Washington Office of The Panama Canal shall be the office of general records in the United States, and shall succeed to the custody, care and preservation of all the records and files of the Isthmian Canal Commission, to be retained and preserved in the United States on and after April 1, 1914, and shall also succeed to and become chargeable with all property of every kind and character purchased for the Washington Office of the Isthmian Canal Commission, which is on hand April 1, 1914.

Sec. 3. That the Washington Office of The Panama Canal shall be the headquarters and the principal office of the Purchasing Department of The Panama Canal. The head of the Purchasing Department of The Panama Canal, under the direction of the Governor, shall have administrative control of the Washington Office of The Panama Canal. He shall be subject to orders and supervision of the Chief of Engineers of the U. S. Army to such extent as may be directed by the Secretary of War. He shall be General Purchasing Officer for The Panama Canal, and shall also act as the Chief of the Washington Office of The Panama Canal.

Sec. 4. That until further ordered, the Washington Office of The Panama Canal shall have the same organization as to offices and departments (except the Office of the Assistant Examiner of Accounts

and the Disbursing Office) as the Washington Office of the Isthmian Canal Commission shall have on March 31, 1914. The number, class and salaries of officials and employees in each of the offices and departments, except as hereinafter provided, shall be the same as those authorized for the Washington Office of the Isthmian Canal Commission on March 31, 1914, and any change in the salary of any position, or in the number of positions in any office or department, shall be made only as now provided by law. The officers and employees, except as hereinafter provided, shall perform the same class of duties that they may be assigned to on March 31, 1914.

Sec. 5. That the Assistant Auditor provided for in Executive Order No. 1885, dated January 27, 1914, shall be appointed April 1, 1914. His salary shall be fixed by the Governor. He shall perform such duties of the Accounting Department to be performed in the United States, as may be assigned to him by the Auditor, and also such other duties of a general nature as may be assigned to him by the Chief of the Washington Office of The Panama Canal.

On and after April 1, 1914, there shall be transferred to the Assistant Auditor, and he shall be charged with the custody, care and preservation of, all records and property of the Disbursing Officer and of the Assistant Examiner of Accounts of the Isthmian Canal Commission, with which those officers shall be charged on March 31, 1914.

The Chief of the Washington Office may, however, transfer to and place in the custody of the Disbursing Clerk, hereinafter provided for, such of the property and records above described, as he may deem to be essential to enable the Disbursing Clerk to properly perform his duties under this order, but the Disbursing Clerk shall not be permitted, without specific authority from the Chief of Office, to keep a separate set of records and files. He shall be required to rely upon, and consult when necessary, the records and files in the office of the Assistant Auditor, in verifying the legality of claims and accounts submitted to him for payment, or to verify the details of any collection for which he is required to account. Disbursements will be made by the Disbursing Clerk only after examination of the claim or account in the office of the Assistant Auditor.

Such of the officers and employees employed in the office of the Assistant Examiner of Accounts and the Disbursing Office of the Isthmian Canal Commission on March 31, 1914, as the Governor determines to retain, shall be transferred to and employed in the Accounting Department in the United States, and their salaries fixed at such amounts as the Governor deems just and reasonable.

There shall be a Disbursing Clerk for that part of the Accounting Department in the United States, who shall perform similar duties to those that are required to be performed by the Collector and Paymaster on the Isthmus, in so far as there are such duties to be per-

formed in the United States, and shall be subject to the same supervision by the Assistant Auditor, as the Collector and Paymaster on the Isthmus are by the Auditor. He shall give bond in such amount as may be fixed by the Governor, or by his authority.

Such of the officers and employees as are transferred to and employed in the Accounting Department in the United States, shall be distributed between the office of the Assistant Auditor and that of the Disbursing Clerk, respectively, as the needs of the service require. They shall perform such duties as may be assigned to them by proper authority. They shall be subject to similar financial responsibilities, and to the same general rules and regulations that have been prescribed for like officers and employees employed in the Accounting Department on the Isthmus.

It is the purpose of this order, and it shall be so construed, as to require the Assistant Auditor of The Panama Canal to examine all claims and accounts before their payment by the Disbursing Clerk; to carry on all general correspondence in relation to claims and accounts required to be conducted by the Accounting Department in the United States; to prepare all vouchers and certify to the validity of all claims and accounts before they are submitted to the Disbursing Clerk for payment; to furnish to the Disbursing Clerk all necessary data to enable that officer to make reply to any exceptions that may be taken to his account by the Auditor for the War Department; to keep all general records required to be kept in the Accounting Department in the United States; to make all reports as to statistical data required to be sent to the Auditor on the Isthmus; to give an administrative examination to all accounts of the Disbursing Clerk before they are transmitted to the Auditor; to make an administrative examination of all claims which are to be submitted to the Auditor for direct settlement; to keep a complete record of all collections to be made and all moneys received by the Disbursing Clerk; to certify to the correctness of the Disbursing Clerk's accounts for collections; to see that bills collectible are issued and collections made in all proper cases; to have charge of all general files which are required to be kept by the Accounting Department in the United States; and to perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Auditor, or the Chief of the Washington Office.

Sec. 6. That any person holding appointment or employment in or under the Washington Office of the Isthmian Canal Commission on March 31, 1914, shall be eligible for appointment to, or employment in a like position in or under the Washington Office of The Panama Canal, created by this order, and all except those employed in the Accounting Department, will be considered to be transferred and appointed to such like position in or under the Washington Office of The Panama Canal, as of April 1, 1914, without further order or

appointment. The oath of office shall be taken by all officials and employees of the Washington Office.

Sec. 7. This order shall remain in force as a provisional order only, for the establishment of the Washington Office of The Panama Canal, until an order for the permanent organization of such office shall have been made.

Sec. 8. All rules, regulations and executive orders, not inconsistent with the provisions of this order and the Executive Orders of January 27, and February 2, 1914, heretofore made for the Isthmian Canal Commission, and applicable to conditions that will exist under these orders, shall be and are hereby continued in full force and effect, as rules, regulations, and executive orders for the government of officers and employees of The Panama Canal and the transaction of the business of The Panama Canal.

WOODROW WILSON.

SPECIAL ADDRESS.

[Recommending Repeal of that Provision of the Panama Canal Act which Exempts Vessels Engaged in the Coastwise Trade of the United States from Payment of Tolls. Delivered at a Joint Session of the two Houses of Congress, March 5, 1914.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have come to you upon an errand which can be very briefly performed, but I beg that you will not measure its importance by the number of sentences in which I state it. No communication I have addressed to the Congress carried with it graver or more far-reaching implications as to the interest of the country, and I come now to speak upon a matter with regard to which I am charged in a peculiar degree, by the Constitution itself, with personal responsibility.

I have come to ask you for the repeal of that provision of the Panama Canal Act of August 24, 1912, which exempts vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States from payment of tolls, and to urge upon you the justice, the wisdom, and the large policy of such a repeal with the utmost earnestness of which I am capable.

In my own judgment, very fully considered and maturely formed, that exemption constitutes a mistaken economic policy from every point of view, and is, moreover, in plain contravention of the treaty with Great Britain concerning the canal concluded on November 18, 1901. But I have not come to urge upon you my personal views. I have come to state to you a fact and a situation. Whatever may be our own differences of opinion concerning this much debated measure, its meaning is not debated outside the United States. Everywhere else the language of the treaty is given but one interpretation, and that interpretation precludes the exemption I am asking you to repeal.

We consented to the treaty; its language we accepted, if we did not originate it; and we are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting a nation to interpret with a too strained or refined reading the words of our own promises just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please. The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do, a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood. We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and for the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation.

I ask this of you in support of the foreign policy of the administration. I shall not know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence if you do not grant it to me in ungrudging measure.

SPECIAL MESSAGE.

[Asking Congress to Authorize the Use of the Land and Naval Forces to Maintain the Dignity and Authority of the United States in Mexico and Compel Respect for the American Flag.—Read Before the Assembled House and Senate, April 20, 1914.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

It is my duty to call your attention to a situation which has arisen in our dealings with Gen. Victoriano Huerta at Mexico City which calls for action, and to ask your advice and co-operation in acting upon it.

On April 9th a Paymaster of the U. S. S. *Dolphin* landed at the Iturbide bridge landing at Tampico with a whaleboat and boat's crew to take off certain supplies needed by his ship, and while engaged in loading the boat was arrested by an officer and squad of men of the army of General Huerta. Neither the Paymaster nor any one of the boat's crew was armed. Two of the men were in the boat when the arrest took place, and were obliged to leave it and submit to be taken into custody, notwithstanding the fact that the boat carried, both at her bow and at her stern, the flag of the United States. The officer who made the arrest was proceeding up one of the streets of the town with his prisoners when met by an officer of higher authority, who ordered him to return to the landing and await orders, and within an hour and a half from the time of the arrest orders were received from the commander of the Huertista forces at Tampico for the release of the Paymaster and his men.

The release was followed by apologies from the commander, and later by an expression of regret by General Huerta himself. General Huerta urged that martial law obtained at the time at Tampico; that

orders had been issued that no one should be allowed to land at the Iturbide bridge, and that our sailors had no right to land there. Our naval commanders at the port had not been notified of any such prohibition, and, even if they had been, the only justifiable course open to the local authorities would have been to request the Paymaster and his crew to withdraw and to lodge a protest with the commanding officer of the fleet. Admiral Mayo regarded the arrest as so serious an affront that he was not satisfied with the apologies offered, but demanded that the flag of the United States be saluted with special ceremony by the military commander of the port.

The incident can not be regarded as a trivial one, especially as two of the men arrested were taken from the boat itself—that is to say, from the territory of the United States; but had it stood by itself, it might have been attributed to the ignorance or arrogance of a single officer.

Unfortunately, it was not an isolated case. A series of incidents have recently occurred which can not but create the impression that the representatives of General Huerta were willing to go out of their way to show disregard for the dignity and rights of this Government, and felt perfectly safe in doing what they pleased, making free to show in many ways their irritation and contempt.

A few days after the incident at Tampico an orderly from the U. S. S. *Minnesota* was arrested at Vera Cruz while ashore in uniform to obtain the ship's mail, and was for a time thrown into jail. An official dispatch from this Government to its embassy at Mexico City was withheld by the authorities of the telegraphic service until peremptorily demanded by our *Chargé d'Affaires* in person.

So far as I can learn, such wrong and annoyances have been suffered to occur only against representatives of the United States. I have heard of no complaints from other governments of similar treatment. Subsequent explanations and formal apologies did not and could not alter the popular impression, which it is possible it had been the object of the Huertista authorities to create, that the Government of the United States was being singled out, and might be singled out with impunity, for slights and affronts in retaliation for its refusal to recognize the pretensions of General Huerta to be regarded as the Constitutional Provisional President of the Republic of Mexico.

The manifest danger of such a situation was that such offenses might grow from bad to worse until something happened of so gross and intolerable a sort as to lead directly and inevitably to armed conflict. It was necessary that the apologies of General Huerta and his representatives should go much further, that they should be such as to attract the attention of the whole population to their significance, and such as to impress upon General Huerta himself the necessity of seeing to it that no further occasion for explanations and professed regrets should arise. I, therefore, felt it my duty to sustain Admiral Mayo

in the whole of his demand and to insist that the flag of the United States should be saluted in such a way as to indicate a new spirit and attitude on the part of the Huertistas.

Such a salute General Huerta has refused, and I have come to ask your approval and support in the course I now purpose to pursue.

This Government can, I earnestly hope, in no circumstances be forced into war with the people of Mexico. Mexico is torn by civil strife. If we are to accept the tests of its own Constitution, it has no government. General Huerta has set his power up in the City of Mexico, such as it is, without right and by methods for which there can be no justification. Only part of the country is under his control.

If armed conflict should unhappily come as a result of his attitude of personal resentment toward this Government, we should be fighting only General Huerta and those who adhere to him and give him their support, and our object would be only to restore to the people of the distracted republic the opportunity to set up again their own laws and their own government.

But I earnestly hope that war is not now in question. I believe that I speak for the American people when I say that we do not desire to control in any degree the affairs of our sister republic. Our feeling for the people of Mexico is one of deep and genuine friendship, and everything that we have so far done or refrained from doing has proceeded from our desire to help them, not to hinder or embarrass them. We would not wish even to exercise the good offices of friendship without their welcome and consent.

The people of Mexico are entitled to settle their own domestic affairs in their own way, and we sincerely desire to respect their right. The present situation need have none of the grave complications of interference if we deal with it promptly, firmly, and wisely.

No doubt I could do what is necessary in the circumstances to enforce respect for our Government without recourse to the congress, and yet not exceed my constitutional powers as President; but I do not wish to act in a matter possibly of so grave consequence except in close conference and co-operation with both the Senate and House. I therefore come to ask your approval that I should use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such an extent as may be necessary to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States, even amid the distressing conditions now unhappily obtaining in Mexico.

There can in what we do be no thought of aggression or of selfish aggrandizement. We seek to maintain the dignity and authority of the United States only because we wish always to keep our great influence unimpaired for the uses of liberty, both in the United States and wherever else it may be employed for the benefit of mankind.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

[Protection Against Domestic Violence in Colorado.]

Whereas, it is provided by the Constitution of the United States that the United States shall protect every State in this Union, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence;

And Whereas, the Governor of the State of Colorado has represented that domestic violence exists in said State which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress; and has represented that it is impossible to convene the legislature of the State in time to meet the present emergency;

And Whereas, the laws of the United States require that in all cases of insurrection in any State or of obstruction to the laws thereof, whenever in the judgment of the President it becomes necessary to use the military forces to suppress such insurrection or obstruction to the laws, he shall forthwith by proclamation command such insurgents to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time:

Now, Therefore, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens of the United States, and all persons within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States against aiding, countenancing, abetting, or taking part in such unlawful proceedings; and I do hereby warn all persons engaged in or connected with said domestic violence and obstruction of the laws to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before the thirtieth day of April, instant.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-eighth day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fourteen,
[SEAL] and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-eighth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN,
Secretary of State.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Relating to Salaries of Consular Officers.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 30, 1914.*

Paragraphs 492 and 561 of the Consular Regulations of 1896 are hereby amended to read as follows:

Paragraph 492. Salaried officers.—Consuls-general and consuls receiving salaries fixed by law are entitled to compensation at the rate of their respective salaries, as follows:

1. Beginning not prior to the date of the oath of office, for time occupied in receiving instructions in the United States, or by special direction of the Department of State, at consulates-general or consulates other than those to which they shall have been appointed, not exceeding in all thirty days.—R. S., sec. 1740.

2. For the time actually and necessarily occupied in transit, by the most convenient route, between the places of their residence and their posts, not, however, to exceed the time fixed in paragraph 478. This applies both to transit from the United States and to transit to the United States at the termination of service, unless the officer dies, or is recalled for malfeasance, or resigns in anticipation of such recall. The time during which a consul may be unavoidably detained at his post while waiting for a conveyance to the United States, after delivering up the office, may be included in his home transit so far as not to exceed in all the maximum time fixed in paragraph 478. In the event that the appointee is not in the United States at the time of appointment no allowance of salary will be made except for the period actually and necessarily occupied in transit in reaching his post of duty, and the time which he may be especially directed by the Department of State to spend at a consulate-general or consulate other than that to which he shall have been appointed, receiving instructions in the performance of consular duties, not exceeding thirty days.

3. From the date of entry upon official duty at their posts to the date when they cease to perform the duties of the office. This provision extends also to the time, after arrival at their posts, while awaiting the receipt of the *exequatur* or permission to act.—R. S., sec. 1740.

Paragraph 561. Receiving instructions.—The first salary account will be stated for the time, not exceeding thirty days, during which the consular officer is receiving his instructions. (Form No. 106.) The time cannot begin prior to the date of the oath of office. (Paragraph 492.) This draft therefor is drawn before departure. A certificate (Form No. 107) of the number of days occupied in receiving instructions should accompany the account.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS

[Delivered at the New York Navy Yard in Brooklyn, May 11, 1914, at the Funeral Service over the Remains of Seventeen Sailors and Marines who Lost Their Lives at the Taking of Vera Cruz, Mexico.]

After Secretary Daniels of the Navy had presented to him a roll of the dead, President Wilson said:

Mr. Secretary:

I know that the feelings which characterize all who stand about me and the whole nation at this hour are not feelings which can be suitably expressed in terms of attempted oratory or eloquence. They are things too deep for ordinary speech. For my own part, I have a singular mixture of feelings. The feeling that is uppermost is one of profound grief that these lads should have had to go to their death, and yet there is mixed with that grief a profound pride that they should have gone as they did, and, if I may say it out of my heart, a touch of envy of those who were permitted so quietly, so nobly, to do their duty.

Have you thought of it, men? Here is the roster of the navy, the list of the men, officers, and enlisted men and marines, and suddenly there swim nineteen stars out of the list—men who have suddenly gone into a firmament of memory, where we shall always see their names shine; not because they called upon us to admire them, but because they served us, without asking any questions and in the performance of a duty which is laid upon us as well as upon them.

Duty is not an uncommon thing, gentlemen. Men are performing it in the ordinary walks of life all around us all the time, and they are making great sacrifices to perform it. What gives men like these peculiar distinction is not merely that they did their duty, but that their duty had nothing to do with them or their own personal and peculiar interests. They did not give their lives for themselves. They gave their lives for us, because we called upon them as a nation to perform an unexpected duty. That is the way in which men grow distinguished and that is the only way, by serving somebody else than themselves. And what greater thing could you serve than a nation such as this we love and are proud of? Are you sorry for these lads? Are you sorry for the way they will be remembered? Does it not quicken your pulses to think of the list of them? I hope to God none of you may join the list, but if you do, you will join an immortal company.

So while we are profoundly sorrowful and while there goes out of our hearts a very deep and affectionate sympathy for the friends and relatives of these lads who for the rest of their lives shall mourn them, though with a touch of pride, we know why we do not go

away from this occasion cast down but with our heads lifted and our eyes on the future of this country, with absolute confidence of how it will be worked out. Not only upon the mere vague future of this country, but the immediate future.

We have gone down to Mexico to serve mankind if we can find out the way. We do not want to fight the Mexicans. We want to serve the Mexicans if we can, because we know how we would like to be free and how we would like to be served if there were friends standing by ready to serve us. A war of aggression is not a war in which it is a grand thing to die, but a war of service is a thing in which it is a proud thing to die.

Notice that these men were of our blood. I mean of our American blood, which is not drawn from any one country, which is not drawn from any one stock, which is not drawn from any one language of the modern world, but free men everywhere have sent their sons and their brothers and their daughters to this country in order to make that great compounded nation which consists of all the sturdy elements and of all the best elements of the whole globe. I listened again to this list with a profound interest at the mixture of names, for the names bear the marks of the several national stocks from which these men came. But they are not Irishmen or Germans or Frenchmen or Hebrews any more. They were not when they went to Vera Cruz; they were American, every one of them, and with no difference in their Americanism because of the stock from which they came.

Therefore, they were in a peculiar sense of our blood and they proved it by showing that they were of our spirit—that no matter what their derivation, no matter where their people came from, they thought and wished and did the things that were American, and the flag under which they served was a flag in which all the blood of mankind is united to make a free nation.

War, gentlemen, is only a sort of dramatic representation, a sort of dramatic symbol of a thousand forms of duty. I never went into battle, I never was under fire, but I fancy that there are some things just as hard to do as to go under fire. I fancy that it is just as hard to do your duty when men are sneering at you as when they are shooting at you. When they shoot at you they can only take your natural life; when they sneer at you they can wound your heart, and men who are brave enough, steadfast enough, steady in their principles enough, to go about their duty with regard to their fellow-men, no matter whether there are hisses or cheers, men who can do what Rudyard Kipling in one of his poems wrote, "meet with triumph and disaster and treat those two impostors just the same," are men for a nation to be proud of. Morally speaking, disaster and triumph are impostors. The cheers of the moment are not

what a man ought to think about, but the verdict of his conscience and the conscience of mankind.

So when I look at you I feel as if I also and we all were enlisted men. Not enlisted in your particular branch of the service, but enlisted to serve the country, no matter what may come, what though we may waste our lives in the arduous endeavor. We are expected to put the utmost energy of every power that we have into the service of our fellow-men, never sparing ourselves, not condescending to think of what is going to happen to ourselves, but ready, if need be, to go to the utter length of complete self-sacrifice.

As I stand and look at you to-day and think of these spirits that have gone from us, I know that the road is clearer for the future. These boys have shown us the way, and it is easier to walk on it because they have gone before and shown us how. May God grant to all of us that vision of patriotic service which here in solemnity and grief and pride is borne in upon our hearts and consciences.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Mother's Day.]

WHEREAS, By a Joint Resolution approved May 8, 1914, "designating the second Sunday in May as Mother's Day, and for other purposes," the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the government officials to display the United States flag on all government buildings, and the people of the United States to display the flag at their homes or other suitable places on the second Sunday in May as a public expression of our love and reverence for the mothers of our country;

AND WHEREAS, By the said Joint Resolution it is made the duty of the President to request the observance of the second Sunday in May as provided for in the said Joint Resolution;

Now, Therefore, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the said Joint Resolution, do hereby direct the government officials to display the United States flag on all government buildings and do invite the people of the United States to display the flag at their homes or other suitable places on the second Sunday in May as a public expression of our love and reverence for the mothers of our country.

Done at the City of Washington this ninth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, and
[SEAL.] of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-eighth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *Secretary of State.*

ADDRESS.

[Delivered at the unveiling of the Statue to the Memory of Commodore John Barry at Washington, May 16, 1914.]

Mr. Secretary, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I esteem it a privilege to be present on this interesting occasion, and I am very much tempted to anticipate some part of what the orators of the day will say about the character of the great man whose memory we celebrate. If I were to attempt an historical address, I might, however, be led too far afield. I am going to take the liberty, therefore, of drawing a few inferences from the significance of this occasion.

I think that we can never be present at a ceremony of this kind, which carries our thoughts back to the great Revolution, by means of which our Government was set up, without feeling that it is an occasion of reminder, of renewal, of refreshment, when we turn our thoughts again to the great issues which were presented to the little Nation which then asserted its independence to the world; to which it spoke both in eloquent representations of its cause and in the sound of arms, and ask ourselves what it was that these men fought for. No one can turn to the career of Commodore Barry without feeling a touch of the enthusiasm with which he devoted an originating mind to the great cause which he intended to serve, and it behooves us, living in this age when no man can question the power of the Nation, when no man would dare to doubt its right and its determination to act for itself, to ask what it was that filled the hearts of these men when they set the Nation up.

For patriotism, ladies and gentlemen, is in my mind not merely a sentiment. There is a certain effervescence, I suppose, which ought to be permitted to those who allow their hearts to speak in the celebration of the glory and majesty of their country, but the country can have no glory and no majesty unless there be a deep principle and conviction back of the enthusiasm. Patriotism is a principle, not a mere sentiment. No man can be a true patriot who does not feel himself shot through and through with a deep ardor for what his country stands for, what its existence means, what its purpose is declared to be in its history and in its policy. I recall those solemn lines of the poet Tennyson in which he tries to give voice to his conception of what it is that stirs within a nation: "Some sense of duty, something of a faith, some reverence for the laws ourselves have made, some patient force to change them when we will, some civic manhood firm against the crowd;" steadfastness, clearness of purpose, courage, persistency, and that uprightness which comes from the

clear thinking of men who wish to serve not themselves but their fellow men.

What does the United States stand for, then, that our hearts should be stirred by the memory of the men who set her Constitution up? John Barry fought, like every other man in the Revolution, in order that America might be free to make her own life without interruption or disturbance from any other quarter. You can sum the whole thing up in that, that America had a right to her own self-determined life; and what are our corollaries from that? You do not have to go back to stir your thoughts again with the issues of the Revolution. Some of the issues of the Revolution were not the cause of it, but merely the occasion for it. There are just as vital things stirring now that concern the existence of the Nation as were stirring then, and every man who worthily stands in this presence should examine himself and see whether he has the full conception of what it means that America should live her own life. Washington saw it when he wrote his farewell address. It was not merely because of passing and transient circumstances that Washington said that we must keep free from entangling alliances. It was because he saw that no country had yet set its face in the same direction in which America had set her face. We can not form alliances with those who are not going our way; and in our might and majesty and in the confidence and definiteness of our own purpose we need not and we should not form alliances with any nation in the world. Those who are right, those who study their consciences in determining their policies, those who hold their honor higher than their advantage, do not need alliances. You need alliances when you are not strong, and you are weak only when you are not true to yourself. You are weak only when you are in the wrong; you are weak only when you are afraid to do the right; you are weak only when you doubt your cause and the majesty of a nation's might asserted.

There is another corollary. John Barry was an Irishman, but his heart crossed the Atlantic with him. He did not leave it in Ireland. And the test of all of us—for all of us had our origin on the other side of the sea—is whether we will assist in enabling America to live her separate and independent life, retaining our ancient affections, indeed, but determining everything that we do by the interests that exist on this side of the sea. Some Americans need hyphens in their names, because only part of them has come over; but when the whole man has come over, heart and thought and all, the hyphen drops of its own weight out of his name. This man was not an Irish-American; he was an Irishman who became an American. I venture to say if he voted he voted with regard to the questions as they looked on this side of the water and not as they affected the other side; and that is my

infallible test of a genuine American, that when he votes or when he acts or when he fights his heart and his thought are centered nowhere but in the emotions and the purposes and the policies of the United States.

This man illustrates for me all the splendid strength which we brought into this country by the magnet of freedom. Men have been drawn to this country by the same thing that has made us love this country—by the opportunity to live their own lives and to think their own thoughts and to let their whole natures expand with the expansion of a free and mighty Nation. We have brought out of the stocks of all the world all the best impulses and have appropriated them and Americanized them and translated them into the glory and majesty of a great country.

So, ladies and gentlemen, when we go out from this presence we ought to take this idea with us that we, too, are devoted to the purpose of enabling America to live her own life, to be the justest, the most progressive, the most honorable, the most enlightened Nation in the world. Any man that touches our honor is our enemy. Any man who stands in the way of the kind of progress which makes for human freedom can not call himself our friend. Any man who does not feel behind him the whole push and rush and compulsion that filled men's hearts in the time of the Revolution is no American. No man who thinks first of himself and afterwards of his country can call himself an American. America must be enriched by us. We must not live upon her; she must live by means of us.

I, for one, come to this shrine to renew the impulses of American democracy. I would be ashamed of myself if I went away from this place without realizing again that every bit of selfishness must be purged from our policy, that every bit of self-seeking must be purged from our individual consciences, and that we must be great, if we would be great at all, in the light and illumination of the example of men who gave everything that they were and everything that they had to the glory and honor of America.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

[To create a committee to formally and officially open the Panama Canal.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 20, 1914.*

By virtue of authority vested in me by the Act approved April 6, 1914, entitled "An Act Making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year nineteen hundred and fourteen and for prior years, and for other purposes," a committee of six members is hereby created to arrange and provide suitable ceremonies for the official and formal opening of the Panama Canal, as is pro-

vided for in Section 4 of the Panama Canal Act. The committee shall be composed of persons who were members of the Isthmian Canal Commission. The committee shall be known and referred to as the "Committee for the Formal and Official Opening of the Panama Canal." It shall have a chairman and vice-chairman, but shall perform its duties under the direction of the Governor of the Panama Canal.

The persons named below are hereby appointed members of this committee.

Colonel George W. Goethals, U. S. A.

Honorable Richard L. Metcalfe.

General William C. Gorgas, U. S. A.

Colonel H. F. Hodges, U. S. A.

Lieutenant-Colonel William L. Sibert, U. S. A.

Civil Engineer H. H. Rousseau, U. S. N.

Colonel George W. Goethals, now Governor of the Panama Canal, shall be Chairman of this committee.

Honorable Richard L. Metcalfe shall be Vice-Chairman.

The members of said committee shall each receive salary at the rate of ten thousand dollars per annum from April 1, 1914, to December 31, 1914, inclusive, and such necessary traveling and living expenses during the period from April 1, 1914, to January 31, 1915, when on duty connected with the work of providing for formally and officially opening the Panama Canal, as may be approved by the Secretary of War. The salary fixed as above shall include any salary to which any member of this committee may be entitled by reason of his appointment to or employment in any other position under the United States for the period above provided for, and the amount of such salary shall be deducted from the salary fixed as above. The salary to be paid May 31, 1914, shall be equal to two months' pay in a lump sum, less the amount of any other salary for the months of April and May, 1914. The word "salary" as used herein, in determining the amount to be deducted, shall not be construed to include additional emoluments, but shall be confined to actual pay.

The committee is authorized to spend such sums as may be available for printing, postage, correspondence, employment of clerks, and other necessary expenses connected with formally and officially opening the Panama Canal, as may be approved by the Secretary of War.

The payments authorized hereunder shall be made by such disbursing officer of the Panama Canal as the Governor shall designate.

The Secretary of War shall provide the manner in which the amount to be expended for traveling, living and other expenses authorized by him shall be certified to, and, when such expenditures are so certified to, they shall be paid for without further vouchers therefor.

WOODROW WILSON,

ADDRESS.

[Delivered May 30, 1914, at the Grand Army of the Republic Memorial Day services in Arlington (Va.) National Cemetery.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have not come here to-day with a prepared address. The committee in charge of the exercises of the day have graciously excused me on the grounds of public obligations from preparing such an address, but I will not deny myself the privilege of joining with you in an expression of gratitude and admiration for the men who perished for the sake of the Union. They do not need our praise. They do not need that our admiration should sustain them. There is no immortality that is safer than theirs. We come not for their sakes but for our own, in order that we may drink at the same springs of inspiration from which they themselves drank.

A peculiar privilege came to the men who fought for the Union. There is no other civil war in history, ladies and gentlemen, the stings of which were removed before the men who did the fighting passed from the stage of life. So that we owe these men something more than a legal re-establishment of the Union. We owe them the spiritual re-establishment of the Union as well; for they not only reunited States, they reunited the spirits of men. That is their unique achievement, unexampled anywhere else in the annals of mankind, that the very men whom they overcame in battle join in praise and gratitude that the Union was saved. There is something peculiarly beautiful and peculiarly touching about that. Whenever a man who is still trying to devote himself to the service of the Nation comes into a presence like this, or into a place like this, his spirit must be peculiarly moved. A mandate is laid upon him which seems to speak from the very graves themselves. Those who serve this Nation, whether in peace or in war, should serve it without thought of themselves. I can never speak in praise of war, ladies and gentlemen; you would not desire me to do so.

But there is this peculiar distinction belonging to the soldier, that he goes into an enterprise out of which he himself can not get anything at all. He is giving everything that he hath, even his life, in order that others may live, not in order that he himself may obtain gain and prosperity. And just so soon as the tasks of peace are performed in the same spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion, peace societies will not be necessary. The very organization and spirit of society will be a guaranty of peace.

Therefore this peculiar thing comes about, that we can stand here

and praise the memory of these soldiers in the interest of peace. They set us the example of self-sacrifice, which if followed in peace will make it unnecessary that men should follow war any more.

We are reputed to be somewhat careless in our discrimination between words in the use of the English language, and yet it is interesting to note that there are some words about which we are very careful. We bestow the adjective "great" somewhat indiscriminately. A man who has made conquest of his fellow men for his own gain may display such genius in war, such uncommon qualities of organization and leadership that we may call him "great," but there is a word which we reserve for men of another kind and about which we are very careful; that is the word "noble." We never call a man "noble" who serves only himself; and if you will look about through all the nations of the world upon the statues that men have erected—upon the inscribed tablets where they have wished to keep alive the memory of the citizens whom they desire most to honor—you will find that almost without exception they have erected the statue to those who had a splendid surplus of energy and devotion to spend upon their fellow men. Nobility exists in America without patent. We have no House of Lords, but we have a house of fame to which we elevate those who are the noble men of our race, who, forgetful of themselves, study and serve the public interest, who have the courage to face any number and any kind of adversary, to speak what in their hearts they believe to be the truth.

We admire physical courage, but we admire above all things else moral courage. I believe that soldiers will bear me out in saying that both come in time of battle. I take it that the moral courage comes in going in the battle, and the physical courage in staying in. There are battles which are just as hard to go into and just as hard to stay in as the battles of arms, and if the man will but stay and think never of himself there will come a time of grateful recollection when men will speak of him not only with admiration but with that which goes deeper, with affection and with reverence.

So that this flag calls upon us for daily service, and the more quiet and self-denying the service the greater the glory of the flag. We are dedicated to freedom, and that freedom means the freedom of the human spirit. All free spirits ought to congregate on an occasion like this to do homage to the greatness of America as illustrated by the greatness of her sons.

It has been a privilege, ladies and gentlemen, to come and say these simple words, which I am sure are merely putting your thought into language. I thank you for the opportunity to lay this little wreath of mine upon these consecrated graves.

ADDRESS.

[Delivered June 4, 1914, at the unveiling of a monument to Confederate soldiers in Arlington (Va.) National Cemetery.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, MRS. McLAURIN STEVENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I assure you that I am profoundly aware of the solemn significance of the thing that has now taken place. The Daughters of the Confederacy have presented a memorial of their dead to the Government of the United States. I hope that you have noted the history of the conception of this idea. It was proposed by a President of the United States who had himself been a distinguished officer in the Union Army. It was authorized by an act of Congress of the United States. The cornerstone of the monument was laid by a President of the United States, elevated to his position by the votes of the party which had chiefly prided itself upon sustaining the war for the Union. And now it has fallen to my lot to accept, in the name of the great Government which I am privileged for the time to represent, this emblem of a reunited people.

I am not so much happy as proud to participate in this capacity on such an occasion; proud that I should represent such a people. Am I mistaken, ladies and gentlemen, in supposing that nothing of this sort could have occurred in anything but a democracy? The people of a democracy are not related to their rulers as subjects are related to a Government. They are themselves the sovereign authority, and as they are neighbors of each other, quickened by the same influences and moved by the same motives, they can understand each other. They are shot through with some of the deepest and profoundest instincts of human sympathy. They choose their Governments. They select their rulers. They live their own life and they will not have that life disturbed and discolored by fraternal misunderstandings.

I know that a reuniting of spirits like this can take place more quickly in our time than in any other because men are now united by an easier transmission of those influences which make up the foundations of peace and of mutual understanding, but no process can work these effects unless there is a conducting medium. The conducting medium in this instance is the united heart of a great people. I am not going to detain you by trying to repeat any of the eloquent thoughts which have moved us this afternoon, for I rejoice in the simplicity of the task which is assigned to me. My privilege is this, ladies and gentlemen: To declare this chapter in the history of the United States is now closed and ended, and I bid you turn with me your faces to the future, quickened by the memories of the past, but with nothing to do with the contests of the past, knowing, as we have shed our blood upon

opposite sides, we now face and admire one another. I do not know how many years ago it was that the Century Dictionary was published, but I remember one day in the Century Cyclopedia of Names I had occasion to turn to the name of Robert E. Lee, and I found him there in that book published in New York City simply described as a great American general. The generosity of our judgment did not begin to-day. The generosity of our judgment was made up soon after this great struggle was over, when men came and sat together again in the Congress and united in all the efforts of peace and of government, and our solemn duty is to see that each one of us is in his own consciousness and in his own conduct a replica of this great reunited people. It is our duty and our privilege to be like the country we represent, and speaking no word of malice, no word of criticism even, standing shoulder to shoulder to lift the burdens of mankind in the future and show the paths of freedom to all the world.

ADDRESS

[To the Graduating Class of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, June 5, 1914.]

MR. SUPERINTENDENT, YOUNG GENTLEMEN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: During the greater part of my life I have been associated with young men, and on occasions it seems to me without number have faced bodies of youngsters going out to take part in the activities of the world, but I have a consciousness of a different significance on this occasion from that which I have felt on other similar occasions. When I have faced the graduating classes at universities I have felt that I was facing a great conjecture. They were going out into all sorts of pursuits and with every degree of preparation for the particular thing they were expecting to do; some without any preparation at all, for they did not know what they expected to do. But in facing you I am facing men who are trained for a special thing. You know what you are going to do, and you are under the eye of the whole Nation in doing it. For you, gentlemen, are to be part of the power of the Government of the United States. There is a very deep and solemn significance in that fact, and I am sure that every one of you feels it. The moral is perfectly obvious. Be ready and fit for anything that you have to do. And keep ready and fit. Do not grow slack. Do not suppose that your education is over because you have received your diplomas from the academy. Your education has just begun. Moreover, you are to have a very peculiar privilege which not many of your predecessors have had. You are yourselves going to become teachers. You are going to teach those 50,000 fellow countrymen of yours who are the enlisted men of the Navy. You

are going to make them fitter to obey your orders and to serve the country. You are going to make them fitter to see what the orders mean in their outlook upon life and upon the service; and that is a great privilege, for out of you is going the energy and intelligence which are going to quicken the whole body of the United States Navy.

I congratulate you upon that prospect, but I want to ask you not to get the professional point of view. I would ask it of you if you were lawyers; I would ask it of you if you were merchants; I would ask it of you whatever you expected to be. Do not get the professional point of view. There is nothing narrower or more unserviceable than the professional point of view, to have the attitude toward life that it centers in your profession. It does not. Your profession is only one of the many activities which are meant to keep the world straight, and to keep the energy in its blood and in its muscle. We are all of us in this world, as I understand it, to set forward the affairs of the whole world, though we play a special part in that great function. The Navy goes all over the world, and I think it is to be congratulated upon having that sort of illustration of what the world is and what it contains; and inasmuch as you are going all over the world you ought to be the better able to see the relation that your country bears to the rest of the world.

It ought to be one of your thoughts all the time that you are sample Americans—not merely sample Navy men, not merely sample soldiers, but sample Americans—and that you have the point of view of America with regard to her Navy and her Army; that she is using them as the instruments of civilization, not as the instruments of aggression. The idea of America is to serve humanity, and every time you let the Stars and Stripes free to the wind you ought to realize that that is in itself a message that you are on an errand which other navies have sometimes forgotten; not an errand of conquest, but an errand of service. I always have the same thought when I look at the flag of the United States, for I know something of the history of the struggle of mankind for liberty. When I look at that flag it seems to me as if the white stripes were strips of parchment upon which are written the rights of man, and the red stripes the streams of blood by which those rights have been made good. Then in the little blue firmament in the corner have swung out the stars of the States of the American Union. So it is, as it were, a sort of floating charter that has come down to us from Runnymede, when men said, "We will not have masters; we will be a people, and we will seek our own liberty."

You are not serving a government, gentlemen; you are serving a people. For we who for the time being constitute the Government are merely instruments for a little while in the hands of a great Nation which chooses whom it will to carry out its decrees and who invariably rejects the man who forgets the ideals which it intended

him to serve. So that I hope that wherever you go you will have a generous, comprehending love of the people you come into contact with, and will come back and tell us, if you can, what service the United States can render to the remotest parts of the world; tell us where you see men suffering; tell us where you think advice will lift them up; tell us where you think that the counsel of statesmen may better the fortunes of unfortunate men; always having it in mind that you are champions of what is right and fair all 'round for the public welfare, no matter where you are, and that it is that you are ready to fight for and not merely on the drop of a hat or upon some slight punctillio, but that you are champions of your fellow men, particularly of that great body one hundred million strong whom you represent in the United States.

What do you think is the most lasting impression that those boys down at Vera Cruz are going to leave? They have had to use some force—I pray God it may not be necessary for them to use any more—but do you think that the way they fought is going to be the most lasting impression? Have men not fought ever since the world began? Is there anything new in using force? The new things in the world are the things that are divorced from force. The things that show the moral compulsions of the human conscience, those are the things by which we have been building up civilization, not by force. And the lasting impression that those boys are going to leave is this, that they exercise self-control; that they are ready and diligent to make the place where they went fitter to live in than they found it; that they regarded other people's rights; that they did not strut and bluster, but went quietly, like self-respecting gentlemen, about their legitimate work. And the people of Vera Cruz, who feared the Americans and despised the Americans, are going to get a very different taste in their mouths about the whole thing when the boys of the Navy and the Army come away. Is that not something to be proud of, that you know how to use force like men of conscience and like gentlemen, serving your fellow men and not trying to overcome them? Like that gallant gentleman who has so long borne the heats and perplexities and distresses of the situation in Vera Cruz—Admiral Fletcher. I mention him, because his service there has been longer and so much of the early perplexities fell upon him. I have been in almost daily communication with Admiral Fletcher, and I have tested his temper. I have tested his discretion. I know that he is a man with a touch of statesmanship about him, and he has grown bigger in my eye each day as I have read his dispatches, for he has sought always to serve the thing he was trying to do in the temper that we all recognize and love to believe is typically American.

I challenge you youngsters to go out with these conceptions, knowing that you are part of the Government and force of the United States

and that men will judge us by you. I am not afraid of the verdict. I can not look in your faces and doubt what it will be, but I want you to take these great engines of force out onto the seas like adventurers enlisted for the elevation of the spirit of the human race. For that is the only distinction that America has. Other nations have been strong, other nations have piled wealth as high as the sky, but they have come into disgrace because they used their force and their wealth for the oppression of mankind and their own aggrandizement; and America will not bring glory to herself, but disgrace, by following the beaten paths of history. We must strike out upon new paths, and we must count upon you gentlemen to be the explorers who will carry this spirit and spread this message all over the seas and in every port of the civilized world.

You see, therefore, why I said that when I faced you I felt there was a special significance. I am not present on an occasion when you are about to scatter on various errands. You are all going on the same errand, and I like to feel bound with you in one common organization for the glory of America. And her glory goes deeper than all the tinsel, goes deeper than the sound of guns and the clash of sabers; it goes down to the very foundations of those things that have made the spirit of men free and happy and content.

ADDRESS

[At Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., July 4, 1914.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS: We are assembled to celebrate the one hundred and thirty-eighth anniversary of the birth of the United States. I suppose that we can more vividly realize the circumstances of that birth standing on this historic spot than it would be possible to realize them anywhere else. The Declaration of Independence was written in Philadelphia; it was adopted in this historic building by which we stand. I have just had the privilege of sitting in the chair of the great man who presided over the deliberations of those who gave the declaration to the world. My hand rests at this moment upon the table upon which the declaration was signed. We can feel that we are almost in the visible and tangible presence of a great historic transaction.

Have you ever read the Declaration of Independence or attended with close comprehension to the real character of it when you have heard it read? If you have, you will know that it is not a Fourth of July oration. The Declaration of Independence was a document preliminary to war. It was a vital piece of practical business, not a piece of rhetoric; and if you will pass beyond those preliminary passages which we are accustomed to quote about the rights of men and read into the heart of the document you will see that it is very express

and detailed, that it consists of a series of definite specifications concerning actual public business of the day. Not the business of our day, for the matter with which it deals is past, but the business of that first revolution by which the Nation was set up, the business of 1776. Its general statements, its general declarations can not mean anything to us unless we append to it a similar specific body of particulars as to what we consider the essential business of our own day.

Liberty does not consist, my fellow citizens, in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action. Therefore, standing here where the declaration was adopted, reading its business-like sentences, we ought to ask ourselves what there is in it for us. There is nothing in it for us unless we can translate it into the terms of our own conditions and of our own lives. We must reduce it to what the lawyers call a bill of particulars. It contains a bill of particulars, but the bill of particulars of 1776. If we would keep it alive, we must fill it with a bill of particulars of the year 1914.

The task to which we have constantly to readdress ourselves is the task of proving that we are worthy of the men who drew this great declaration and know what they would have done in our circumstances. Patriotism consists in some very practical things—practical in that they belong to the life of every day, that they wear no extraordinary distinction about them, that they are connected with commonplace duty. The way to be patriotic in America is not only to love America, but to love the duty that lies nearest to our hand and know that in performing it we are serving our country. There are some gentlemen in Washington, for example, at this very moment who are showing themselves very patriotic in a way which does not attract wide attention but seems to belong to mere everyday obligations. The Members of the House and Senate who stay in hot Washington to maintain a quorum of the Houses and transact the all-important business of the Nation are doing an act of patriotism. I honor them for it, and I am glad to stay there and stick by them until the work is done.

It is patriotic, also, to learn what the facts of our national life are and to face them with candor. I have heard a great many facts stated about the present business condition of this country, for example—a great many allegations of fact, at any rate, but the allegations do not tally with one another. And yet I know that truth always matches with truth; and when I find some insisting that everything is going wrong and others insisting that everything is going right, and when I know from a wide observation of the general circumstances of the country taken as a whole that things are going extremely well, I wonder what those who are crying out that things are wrong are trying to do. Are they trying to serve the country, or are they trying to serve something smaller than the country? Are they trying to put

hope into the hearts of the men who work and toil every day, or are they trying to plant discouragement and despair in those hearts? And why do they cry that everything is wrong and yet do nothing to set it right? If they love America and anything is wrong amongst us, it is their business to put their hand with ours to the task of setting it right. When the facts are known and acknowledged, the duty of all patriotic men is to accept them in candor and to address themselves hopefully and confidently to the common counsel which is necessary to act upon them wisely and in universal concert.

I have had some experiences in the last 14 months which have not been entirely reassuring. It was universally admitted, for example, my fellow citizens, that the banking system of this country needed reorganization. We set the best minds that we could find to the task of discovering the best method of reorganization. But we met with hardly anything but criticism from the bankers of the country; we met with hardly anything but resistance from the majority of those at least who spoke at all concerning the matter. And yet so soon as that act was passed there was a universal chorus of applause, and the very men who had opposed the measure joined in that applause. If it was wrong the day before it was passed, why was it right the day after it was passed? Where had been the candor of criticism not only, but the concert of counsel which makes legislative action vigorous and safe and successful?

It is not patriotic to concert measures against one another; it is patriotic to concert measures for one another.

In one sense the Declaration of Independence has lost its significance. It has lost its significance as a declaration of national independence. Nobody outside of America believed when it was uttered that we could make good our independence; now nobody anywhere would dare to doubt that we are independent and can maintain our independence. As a declaration of independence, therefore, it is a mere historic document. Our independence is a fact so stupendous that it can be measured only by the size and energy and variety and wealth and power of one of the greatest nations in the world. But it is one thing to be independent and it is another thing to know what to do with your independence. It is one thing to come to your majority and another thing to know what you are going to do with your life and your energies; and one of the most serious questions for sober-minded men to address themselves to in the United States is this: What are we going to do with the influence and power of this great Nation? Are we going to play the old rôle of using that power for our aggrandizement and material benefit only? You know what that may mean. It may upon occasion mean that we shall use it to make the peoples of other nations suffer in the way in which we said it was intolerable to suffer when we uttered our Declaration of Independence.

The Department of State at Washington is constantly called upon to back up the commercial enterprises and the industrial enterprises of the United States in foreign countries, and it at one time went so far in that direction that all its diplomacy came to be designated as "dollar diplomacy." It was called upon to support every man who wanted to earn anything anywhere if he was an American. But there ought to be a limit to that. There is no man who is more interested than I am in carrying the enterprise of American business men to every quarter of the globe. I was interested in it long before I was suspected of being a politician. I have been preaching it year after year as the great thing that lay in the future for the United States, to show her wit and skill and enterprise and influence in every country in the world. But observe the limit to all that which is laid upon us perhaps more than upon any other nation in the world. We set this nation up, at any rate we professed to set it up, to vindicate the rights of men. We did not name any differences between one race and another. We did not set up any barriers against any particular people. We opened our gates to all the world and said, "Let all men who wish to be free come to us and they will be welcome." We said, "This independence of ours is not a selfish thing for our own exclusive private use. It is for everybody to whom we can find the means of extending it." We can not with that oath taken in our youth, we can not with that great ideal set before us when we were a young people and numbered only a scant 3,000,000, take upon ourselves, now that we are 100,000,000 strong, any other conception of duty than we then entertained. If American enterprise in foreign countries, particularly in those foreign countries which are not strong enough to resist us, takes the shape of imposing upon and exploiting the mass of the people of that country it ought to be checked and not encouraged. I am willing to get anything for an American that money and enterprise can obtain except the suppression of the rights of other men. I will not help any man buy a power which he ought not to exercise over his fellow beings.

You know, my fellow countrymen, what a big question there is in Mexico. Eighty-five per cent of the Mexican people have never been allowed to have any genuine participation in their own Government or to exercise any substantial rights with regard to the very land they live upon. All the rights that men most desire have been exercised by the other 15 per cent. Do you suppose that that circumstance is not sometimes in my thought? I know that the American people have a heart that will beat just as strong for those millions in Mexico as it will beat, or has beaten, for any other millions elsewhere in the world, and that when once they conceive what is at stake in Mexico they will know what ought to be done in Mexico. I hear a great deal said about the loss of property in Mexico and the loss of the lives of

foreigners, and I deplore these things with all my heart. Undoubtedly, upon the conclusion of the present disturbed conditions in Mexico those who have been unjustly deprived of their property or in any wise unjustly put upon ought to be compensated. Men's individual rights have no doubt been invaded, and the invasion of those rights has been attended by many deplorable circumstances which ought some time, in the proper way, to be accounted for. But back of it all is the struggle of a people to come into its own, and while we look upon the incidents in the foreground let us not forget the great tragic reality in the background which towers above the whole picture.

A patriotic American is a man who is not niggardly and selfish in the things that he enjoys that make for human liberty and the rights of man. He wants to share them with the whole world, and he is never so proud of the great flag under which he lives as when it comes to mean to other people as well as to himself a symbol of hope and liberty. I would be ashamed of this flag if it ever did anything outside America that we would not permit it to do inside of America.

The world is becoming more complicated every day, my fellow citizens. No man ought to be foolish enough to think that he understands it all. And, therefore, I am glad that there are some simple things in the world. One of the simple things is principle. Honesty is a perfectly simple thing. It is hard for me to believe that in most circumstances when a man has a choice of ways he does not know which is the right way and which is the wrong way. No man who has chosen the wrong way ought even to come into Independence Square; it is holy ground which he ought not to tread upon. He ought not to come where immortal voices have uttered the great sentences of such a document as this Declaration of Independence upon which rests the liberty of a whole nation.

And so I say that it is patriotic sometimes to prefer the honor of the country to its material interest. Would you rather be deemed by all the nations of the world incapable of keeping your treaty obligations in order that you might have free tolls for American ships? The treaty under which we gave up that right may have been a mistaken treaty, but there was no mistake about its meaning.

When I have made a promise as a man I try to keep it, and I know of no other rule permissible to a nation. The most distinguished nation in the world is the nation that can and will keep its promises even to its own hurt. And I want to say parenthetically that I do not think anybody was hurt. I can not be enthusiastic for subsidies to a monopoly, but let those who are enthusiastic for subsidies ask themselves whether they prefer subsidies to unsullied honor.

The most patriotic man, ladies and gentlemen, is sometimes the man who goes in the direction that he thinks right even when he sees half the world against him. It is the dictate of patriotism to sacrifice your-

self if you think that that is the path of honor and of duty. Do not blame others if they do not agree with you. Do not die with bitterness in your heart because you did not convince the rest of the world, but die happy because you believe that you tried to serve your country by not selling your soul. Those were grim days, the days of 1776. Those gentlemen did not attach their names to the Declaration of Independence on this table expecting a holiday on the next day, and that 4th of July was not itself a holiday. They attached their signatures to that significant document knowing that if they failed it was certain that every one of them would hang for the failure. They were committing treason in the interest of the liberty of 3,000,000 people in America. All the rest of the world was against them and smiled with cynical incredulity at the audacious undertaking. Do you think that if they could see this great Nation now they would regret anything that they then did to draw the gaze of a hostile world upon them? Every idea must be started by somebody, and it is a lonely thing to start anything. Yet if it is in you, you must start it if you have a man's blood in you and if you love the country that you profess to be working for.

I am sometimes very much interested when I see gentlemen supposing that popularity is the way to success in America. The way to success in this great country, with its fair judgments, is to show that you are not afraid of anybody except God and his final verdict. If I did not believe that, I would not believe in democracy. If I did not believe that, I would not believe that people can govern themselves. If I did not believe that the moral judgment would be the last judgment, the final judgment, in the minds of men as well as the tribunal of God, I could not believe in popular government. But I do believe these things, and, therefore, I earnestly believe in the democracy not only of America but of every awakened people that wishes and intends to govern and control its own affairs.

It is very inspiring, my friends, to come to this that may be called the original fountain of independence and liberty in America and here drink draughts of patriotic feeling which seem to renew the very blood in one's veins. Down in Washington sometimes when the days are hot and the business presses intolerably and there are so many things to do that it does not seem possible to do anything in the way it ought to be done, it is always possible to lift one's thought above the task of the moment and, as it were, to realize that great thing of which we are all parts, the great body of American feeling and American principle. No man could do the work that has to be done in Washington if he allowed himself to be separated from that body of principle. He must make himself feel that he is a part of the people of the United States, that he is trying to think not only for them,

but with them, and then he can not feel lonely. He not only can not feel lonely but he can not feel afraid of anything.

My dream is that as the years go on and the world knows more and more of America it will also drink at these fountains of youth and renewal; that it also will turn to America for those moral inspirations which lie at the basis of all freedom; that the world will never fear America unless it feels that it is engaged in some enterprise which is inconsistent with the rights of humanity; and that America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of humanity.

What other great people has devoted itself to this exalted ideal? To what other nation in the world can all eyes look for an instant sympathy that thrills the whole body politic when men anywhere are fighting for their rights? I do not know that there will ever be a declaration of independence and of grievances for mankind, but I believe that if any such document is ever drawn it will be drawn in the spirit of the American Declaration of Independence, and that America has lifted high the light which will shine unto all generations and guide the feet of mankind to the goal of justice and liberty and peace.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[To require ocean-going vessels to be fitted with wireless apparatus.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 9, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me, I hereby establish the following order for the Canal Zone:

Section 1. From and after the first day of July, 1915, it shall be unlawful for any ocean-going steamer of the United States, or of any foreign country, carrying fifty or more persons including passengers and crew, to leave or attempt to leave any port of the Canal Zone unless such steamer shall be equipped with an efficient apparatus for radio communication in good working order in charge of a person skilled in the use of such apparatus, which apparatus shall be capable of transmitting and receiving messages for a distance of at least one hundred miles, night or day: provided, that the provisions of this order shall not apply to steamers plying only between the Canal Zone and ports less than two hundred miles therefrom.

Sec. 2. The master or other person being in charge of such vessel which leaves or attempts to leave any port of the Canal Zone in violation of any of the provisions of this order shall, upon conviction, be fined in a sum not to exceed Five Thousand Dollars (\$5,000.00), and any such fine shall be a lien upon such vessel, and the vessel may be liable therefor in the District Court of the Canal Zone, and the leav-

ing or attempting to leave by any vessel from each and every port of the Canal Zone shall constitute a separate offense.

Sec. 3. This order shall take effect from and after this date.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Establishing Smith Island Reservation for the protection of native birds.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *June 6, 1914.*

It is hereby ordered that Smith and Minor Islands, situated approximately in latitude 48° 19' North, longitude 122° 50' West from Greenwich, as shown on United States Coast Survey chart No. 6380, in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, about fourteen miles north by west from Port Townsend, Washington, be and the same are hereby reserved and set apart for the use of the Department of Agriculture as a preserve, breeding ground and winter sanctuary for native birds. This order is not intended to abrogate the order of September 11, 1854, reserving these islands for lighthouse purposes, nor shall it in any manner interfere with such use of the islands, but rather, in addition to such use, shall insure the protection of the native birds thereon.

It is unlawful for any person to hunt, trap, capture, wilfully disturb or kill any bird of any kind whatever, or take the eggs of any such bird within the limits of this reserve, except under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Warning is expressly given to all persons not to commit any of the acts herein enumerated, under the penalties of Section 84 of the U. S. Penal Code, approved March 4, 1909, 35 Stat., 1088.

This reserve to be known as Smith Island Reservation.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Amending the Civil Service Rules providing for the appointment of aliens when no citizens are available.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 25, 1914.*

Section 1 of Rule V is hereby amended by adding thereto the following proviso:

Provided, That when an examination has been duly announced to fill a vacancy and there is a lack of eligibles who are citizens, the Commission may, in its discretion, examine persons who are not citizens, but they shall not be certified for appointment so long as citizens are eligible.

As amended this section will read:

1. No person shall be admitted to examination unless he be a citizen of or owe allegiance to the United States: *Provided*, That when an examination has been duly announced to fill a vacancy and there is a lack of eligibles who are citizens, the Commission may, in its discretion, examine persons who are not citizens, but they shall not be certified for appointment so long as citizens are eligible.

This order merely transfers to the civil service rules a provision of an Executive order of June 13, 1906.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Governing the inspection of returns of corporations, joint stock companies, associations, or insurance companies.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 28, 1914.*

Pursuant to the provisions of Section 2 of the Tariff Act of October 3, 1913, said section providing for an income tax, and which contains in paragraph G, sub-paragraph (d) the following provision,

“When the assessment shall be made, as provided in this section, the returns, together with any corrections thereof which may have been made by the Commissioner, shall be filed in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and shall constitute public records and be open to inspection as such: Provided, That any and all such returns shall be open to inspection only upon the order of the President, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury and approved by the President: Provided further, That the proper officers of any State imposing a general income tax may, upon the request of the governor thereof, have access to said returns or to any abstract thereof, showing the name and income of each such corporation, joint stock company, association or insurance company, at such times and in such manner as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe,”

it is hereby ordered, that all such returns shall be subject to inspection in accordance and upon compliance with rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury and approved by the President, bearing even date herewith.

WOODROW WILSON.

[This order was accompanied by a ruling of the Secretary of the Treasury, Wm. G. McAdoo, approved by President Wilson, to the effect that returns of individuals are not open to the inspection of any one except the proper officers and employees of the Treasury Department.]

[Establishing a wireless telegraph station in the Canal Zone for use of the Navy.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 30, 1914.*

The area of land hereinafter described, situated in the Canal Zone, is hereby set apart and assigned to the uses and purposes of a radio station and other naval purposes under the control of the Secretary of the Navy; but said area shall be subject to the civil jurisdiction of the Canal Zone authorities in conformity with the Panama Canal Act.

The said area is described as Darien Naval Radio Station and is shown by the blue print No. 3846, dated March 30, 1914, issued by the Department of Construction and Engineering, Isthmian Canal Commission, office of the Assistant to the Chief Engineer.

WOODROW WILSON.

[For the relief, protection and transportation home of Americans in Europe at the outbreak of the European war of 1914.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 5, 1914.*

To the end that there may be proper co-operation as between the Departments of State, Treasury, War and Navy in the accomplishment of the desired results in connection with the relief, protection and transportation of American citizens abroad made necessary by existing disturbed conditions in Europe, it is directed:

1. The heads of the Departments named will co-operate and co-ordinate their work to the extent possible under the general provisions of this order and in accordance with such further instructions as may be given.

2. The Secretary of the Navy will despatch such ships to such ports as may be determined upon for the purpose of carrying those detailed from the various Departments for relief work, together with supplies and money.

3. The Secretary of War will detail officers for the purpose of organizing and conducting the relief work among, and the transportation of, the refugees. He will attend to the chartering of ships, arranging for transportation, payment therefor by those able to pay, and the proper handling of the destitute, after obtaining all the information possible and availing himself of the services of each of the other Departments who can aid in these respects.

4. The Secretary of the Treasury will make arrangements for handling the funds, determining, after such consultation as may be necessary, how much shall be shipped abroad and how the sums which will be required to be expended by the other Departments shall be drawn against and accounted for. He will make arrangements for fiscal agencies at such points in England and on the Continent as may be practicable, and he will provide means for making available for American citizens in Europe and England moneys furnished by their friends, relatives, and banking and express companies in this country.

5. The Secretary of State will detail such diplomatic agents as may be necessary, including an adviser upon diplomatic procedure and law, to accompany the Assistant Secretary of War on the first shipment to sail for the other side. He will use all avenues of communication available to gather and distribute all obtainable facts.

For the purpose of having a complete and unconfused record, all

communications to the Navy ship to carry the Assistant Secretary of War and the Army officers will be sent to the Secretary of War, and by him sent to the Navy Department for transmission. This, of course, refers to the relief work, and not to orders to Naval officers, etc.

6. The heads of the Departments above referred to will keep in constant communication with each other and endeavor to agree upon and arrange every question which arises, advising with the President wherever necessary and securing his directions.

WOODROW WILSON.

[To enforce neutrality of wireless stations.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 5, 1914.*

Whereas Proclamations having been issued by me declaring the neutrality of the United States of America in the wars now existing between various European nations; and

Whereas it is desirable to take precautions to insure the enforcement of said Proclamations in so far as the use of radio communication is concerned;

It is now ordered, by virtue of authority vested in me to establish regulations on the subject, that all radio stations within the jurisdiction of the United States of America are hereby prohibited from transmitting or receiving for delivery messages of an unneutral nature, and from in any way rendering to any one of the belligerents any unneutral service, during the continuance of hostilities.

The enforcement of this order is hereby delegated to the Secretary of the Navy, who is authorized and directed to take such action in the premises as to him may appear necessary.

This order to take effect from and after this date.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Establishing Board of Relief for benefit of Americans stranded abroad during the European war, 1914.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 6, 1914.*

Supplementing the Executive Order signed August 5th, in relation to the Relief, Protection and Transportation of American Citizens abroad, it is further directed:

That the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy be, and they are hereby constituted a Board of Relief to have general charge of the work to be done under and by virtue of joint resolution No. 314, passed August 5th, and that the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he hereby is designated Chairman of said Board.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Relating to the Customs Service and providing for fines for dishonest manifests in the Canal Zone.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 8, 1914.*

By Virtue of the Authority Vested in Me, I Hereby Establish the Following Order for the Canal Zone:

1. If the master of a vessel, arriving at any port in the Canal Zone from a foreign port, shall fail or refuse to produce to the proper officer of the customs, upon demand by him, the ship's manifest and copies thereof, or shall fail or refuse to give a true account of the destination of such vessel, he shall be subject to a fine of not exceeding five hundred dollars.

2. If any merchandise be found on board any vessel arriving in the Canal Zone from a foreign port, which is not included in her manifest, the master of such vessel shall be liable to a penalty equal in amount to the value of the merchandise not manifested, and all such merchandise, belonging to or consigned to the officers or crew of the vessel, shall be forfeited, provided, however, that the penalty authorized by this section shall not be imposed if it should be made to appear to the chief customs officer, at the port of entry, or to the court in which the trial shall be held, that no part of the cargo has been unladen, except as accounted for in the master's report, and that the errors and omissions in the manifest were made without fraud or collusion; in such case the master may be allowed to correct his manifest by means of a post-entry. It shall not be lawful to grant a permit to unload any such merchandise, so omitted from the manifest, before such post-entry or addition to report or manifest has been made.

3. If sea stores are found on board of a vessel arriving at the Canal Zone from a foreign port, which are not specified in the list furnished the boarding officer, or if a greater quantity of such articles is found than that specified in such list, or if any of the articles are landed without a permit being first obtained from the customs officer for that purpose, all of such articles omitted from the list or manifest, or so landed, shall be seized and forfeited, and the master of the vessel shall be liable to a penalty of treble the value of the articles so omitted or landed.

4. The officers of the Bureau of Customs are authorized to administer oaths, and to certify invoices covering shipments of merchandise from the Canal Zone to the United States. In the performance of this duty they shall be governed by the United States Consular regulations, and by the circular instructions concerning the certification of invoices issued to consuls of the United States, insofar as they are applicable, provided, however, that any special instructions heretofore issued, or which may be issued by the Treasury Department, concerning the certification of invoices in the Canal Zone, shall be complied with.

5. Any person violating any of the customs laws, or the customs rules and regulations established, or to be established, by the Governor of The Panama Canal in conformity with existing laws and orders, shall be subject to a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars for each violation of such regulations.

6. This order shall take effect from and after this date.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Giving the Treasury Department full authority over all customs officers in the enforcement of the neutrality laws during emergency.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 8, 1914.*

In order to secure a more prompt and effective enforcement of the neutrality laws to meet the emergent conditions now existing, it is hereby ordered that all instructions to customs officers concerning the enforcement of the neutrality laws of the United States, shall, until otherwise directed, be issued by the Treasury Department.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Relating to Postal Crimes in the Canal Zone.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 14, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me, I hereby establish the following order for the Canal Zone:

Section 1. The Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States, not locally inapplicable, which define crimes against the Postal Service, and prescribe punishments therefor, are hereby extended to the Canal Zone, and shall be enforceable in the courts of the Canal Zone in the manner and form prescribed for other criminal cases by the Canal Zone laws.

Section 2. This order shall take effect from and after this date.

WOODROW WILSON.

[To require security for costs in civil cases in the Canal Zone.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 14, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me, I hereby establish the following order for the Canal Zone:

Section 1. The plaintiff in any civil suit, or special proceeding, may be ruled to give security for the costs upon motion of the defendant, or of any officer of the court interested in the costs accruing in such suit; and if such rule be entered against the plaintiff, and he fail to comply therewith, within the time prescribed by the court or judge thereof, the suit shall be dismissed.

A new or additional undertaking may be ordered within such time as the court or judge may prescribe, upon proof that the original undertaking is insufficient security, and failure on the part of the plaintiff to comply with the order of the court, or judge, within the time prescribed, shall cause the dismissal of the suit.

This section shall apply to suits in the magistrates' courts, as well as in the district court.

The security for costs required by this section may consist of a money deposit, bond of a surety company, or cost bond with two or more good and sufficient sureties; the form of such security to be determined by the judge or magistrate of the court before whom the proceedings are pending.

Section 2. All bonds given as security for costs shall authorize judgment against all of the obligors of said bonds for such costs, to be entered in the final judgment of the case or special proceedings.

Section 3. Any party to a suit, who is required to give security for costs, may file with the secretary, or his assistant, or with the magistrate, as the case may be, an affidavit to the effect that he is too poor to pay the costs of the court, and is unable to give security therefor. The secretary of the district court, or his assistant, or the magistrate, as the case may be, may contest the inability of the party to pay the costs, or his inability to give security for the same, the contest to be tried before the judge of the district court in cases pending in that court, and before the magistrate in cases pending in one of the magistrates' courts; and the contest shall be heard at such time as the court or magistrate may determine.

If no contest is made upon the affidavit, or if the same is admitted by the court or magistrate after the contest, it shall be the duty of the officers of the court thereafter to issue and serve all processes and perform all duties on behalf of such party as in other cases.

Section 4. The public administrator, and executors, administrators and guardians appointed by the courts of the Canal Zone shall not be required to give security for costs in any suit brought by them in their fiduciary character.

Section 5. No security for costs shall be required of The United States, The Panama Canal, The Canal Zone Government, or any of its dependencies.

Section 6. The provisions of this order, relating to security for costs, shall apply to an intervenor; and shall also apply to a defendant who seeks a judgment against the plaintiff on a counter-claim, after the defendant shall have discontinued his suit.

Section 7. When the costs are secured by the provisions of an attachment or other bond, filed by the party required to give security for costs, no further security shall be required.

Section 8. All laws, orders and decrees, or parts thereof, in

conflict with this order, are hereby repealed, provided, that this order shall not be construed to impair the power conferred upon the courts in respect to costs by Article III of the Executive Order of September 29, 1911, "To Amend Sections 51, 62, and 526, And To Repeal Sections 63 and 529 of The Code of Civil Procedure Of The Canal Zone."

Section 9. This order shall take effect sixty days from this date.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Amending the rules governing the granting of passports.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 14, 1914.*

The Secretary of State is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to issue passports to American citizens abroad, in cases of urgent necessity, upon applications made in their behalf by near relatives or legal representatives in this country. To this extent is amended Section 3 of the Rules Governing the Granting and Issuing of Passports in The United States, dated March 10, 1913.

WOODROW WILSON.

[For a lookout station at Twin Sisters Administrative Site (near Colorado National Forest), Colorado.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 14, 1914.*

Under authority of the Act of Congress approved June 25, 1910 (36 Stat., 847), as amended by the Act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat., 497), and on the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture, it is hereby ordered that the following described tract of land, containing 160 acres, be temporarily withdrawn from settlement, location, sale or entry, except as provided in said Acts, and be reserved for use by the Forest Service as a lookout station in connection with the administration of the Colorado National Forest, said tract being located on the summit of Twin Sisters Mountain, N $\frac{1}{2}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Section 25, S $\frac{1}{2}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ Section 24, Township 4 North, Range 73 West, 6th P. M., in accordance with the official plat thereof.

WOODROW WILSON.

[To Amend the Executive Order of April 15, 1913, entitled: "Executive Order to Provide Maritime Quarantine Regulations for the Canal Zone and the Harbors of the Cities of Panama and Colon, Republic of Panama."]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 14, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me, I hereby establish the following order for the Canal Zone:

I. The certificate to the form of original bill of health prescribed by section 1 of the Executive Order of April 15, 1913, entitled: "Executive Order to Provide Maritime Quarantine Regulations for the Canal Zone and the Harbors of the Cities of Panama and Colon, Republic of Panama," is hereby amended to read as follows:

I hereby certify that the vessel has complied with the quarantine rules and regulations of the Panama Canal, and that the vessel leaves this port bound for ———, Canal zone, or ———, Republic of Panama, via ———.

Given under my hand and seal this ——— day of ——— 191—. (SEAL)

(Signature of Consular Officer.)

II. The certificate to the form of supplemental bills of health prescribed by section 1 of the above mentioned Executive Order is hereby amended to read as follows:

I certify also that with reference to the passengers, effects and cargo taken on at this port the vessel has complied with the quarantine rules and regulations of the Panama Canal.

Given under my hand and seal this ——— day of ———, 191—. (SEAL)

(Signature of Consular Officer.)

III. Section 1 of the above mentioned Executive Order is hereby amended by adding the following paragraph to said section:

Vessels clearing from a foreign port to a port in the United States, or one of their dependencies, and touching at any port of the Canal Zone, or Panama or of Colon, Republic of Panama, shall not be required to obtain an additional bill of health under the quarantine rules and regulations of the Panama Canal, but it shall be sufficient that such vessel obtain extra copies of the bill of health and of the supplemental bill of health, if any, issued in the foreign port by the officer authorized by the quarantine laws of the United States. Such extra copies of the bill of health, or of the supplemental bill of health, as the case may be, shall be delivered by the Captain of the vessel to the quarantine officer of the Panama Canal upon arrival of the vessel in ports of the Canal Zone, or the ports of Panama or Colon, Republic of Panama.

IV. Section 16 of the said Executive Order is hereby amended by adding thereto the following paragraph:

The baggage of cabin passengers embarking at infected ports shall be treated as provided in this section for baggage of steerage passengers.

V. The second paragraph of section 19 of the above mentioned Executive Order is hereby amended to read as follows:

(a) Vessels from the United States or their dependencies; (b) Vessels from foreign ports; (c) Vessels with sickness aboard; (d)

Vessels from Panamanian ports where any quarantinable disease prevails; (c) Vessels from Panamanian ports carrying passengers or articles suspected by the quarantine officer as being capable of conveying the infection of a transmissible disease.

VI. Section 26 of the above mentioned Executive Order is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 26. The quarantine officer, after his inspection of the vessel and its documents, shall decide whether said vessel, or its personnel or passengers, or any article aboard said vessel is liable to convey any of the following diseases: plague, yellow fever, cholera, smallpox, typhus fever or leprosy; and, if so, such vessel shall be placed in quarantine and forbidden entry until free from such liability of conveying any such diseases, and he shall take such measures in respect to the vessel, its passengers or personnel or of cargo as in his judgment may be required to prevent the entry of such diseases into the Canal Zone, or the cities of Panama or Colon, Republic of Panama.

VII. Section 34 of said Executive Order is hereby amended to read as follows:

Any person violating any of the provisions of these regulations shall be punished by a fine not exceeding Five Hundred Dollars (\$500.00), or by imprisonment in jail not exceeding ninety (90) days, or both such fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the court. The punishment herein prescribed shall be imposed by the district court of the Canal Zone.

VIII. This order shall take effect from and after the date upon which the Panama Canal is officially and formally opened for use and operation by the proclamation of the President of the United States.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Temporarily abolishing fees for passports and providing for certification of same.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, August 14, 1914.

It is hereby ordered that paragraphs 159 and 160 of the regulations and instructions prescribed for the use of the consular service of the United States and the instructions to the diplomatic officers of the United States be amended to read as follows:

"159. *Fees*.—Until further notice, no fee shall be collected for the issuance of an emergency passport, nor for the execution of the application therefor. This has no reference to a regular passport issued by the Department upon an application made before a Diplomatic or Consular Officer."

"160. *Visa*.—A Diplomatic Officer or a Consular Officer, including a Consular Agent, may visa or verify regularly issued pass-

ports by endorsing thereon the word "Good" in the language of the country and affixing to the endorsement his official signature and seal. A Diplomatic Officer should visa a passport only when there is no American Consulate established in the city where the mission is situated, or when the Consular Officer is absent, or the Government of the country refuses to acknowledge the validity of the Consular Visa. Whenever a passport without signature is presented to be visaed the holder should be required to sign it before it is visaed by a Diplomatic or Consular Officer. Until further notice, no fee shall be collected for the visaing of a passport. No visa shall be attached to a passport after its validity has expired."

Sections 8, 9 and 32 of the Tariff of United States Consular Fees shall be amended to read as follows:

- "8. Issuing a passport—Form No. 9—for extending a passport (Fee waived until further notice by Executive Order of August 14, 1914) No fee."
- "9. Visaing a passport—Form No. 10 (Fee waived until further notice by Executive Order of August 14, 1914) No fee."
- "32. Administering oath and preparing passport application (Fee waived as to emergency passport applications by Executive Order of August 14, 1914) No fee."

This order shall have no effect as to fees collected by diplomatic or consular officers before they shall have actually received notice of its contents.

The Secretary of State may, when he sees fit, without further authorization, terminate the waiver of fees hereby put into effect, and restore the tariff of fees to the condition existing prior to the amendments made herein.

WOODROW WILSON.

NEUTRALITY PROCLAMATIONS

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Austria-Hungary and Servia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France.]

Whereas a state of war unhappily exists between Austria-Hungary and Servia and between Germany and Russia and between Germany and France; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

And Whereas there are citizens of the United States residing within

the territories or dominions of each of the said belligerents and carrying on commerce, trade, or other business or pursuits therein ;

And Whereas there are subjects of each of the said belligerents residing within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, and carrying on commerce, trade, or other business or pursuits therein ;

And Whereas the laws and treaties of the United States, without interfering with the free expression of opinion and sympathy, or with the commercial manufacture or sale of arms or munitions of war, nevertheless impose upon all persons who may be within their territory and jurisdiction the duty of an impartial neutrality during the existence of the contest ;

And Whereas it is the duty of a neutral government not to permit or suffer the making of its waters subservient to the purposes of war ;

Now, Therefore, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, in order to preserve the neutrality of the United States and of its citizens and of persons within its territory and jurisdiction, and to enforce its laws and treaties, and in order that all persons, being warned of the general tenor of the laws and treaties of the United States in this behalf, and of the law of nations, may thus be prevented from any violation of the same, do hereby declare and proclaim that by certain provisions of the act approved on the 4th day of March, A. D. 1909, commonly known as the "Penal Code of the United States" the following acts are forbidden to be done, under severe penalties, within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States, to wit:—

1. Accepting and exercising a commission to serve either of the said belligerents by land or by sea against the other belligerent.

2. Enlisting or entering into the service of either of the said belligerents as a soldier, or as a marine, or seaman on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer.

3. Hiring or retaining another person to enlist or enter himself in the service of either of the said belligerents as a soldier, or as a marine, or seaman on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer.

4. Hiring another person to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted as aforesaid.

5. Hiring another person to go beyond the limits of the United States with intent to be entered into service as aforesaid.

6. Retaining another person to go beyond the limits of the United States with intent to be enlisted as aforesaid.

7. Retaining another person to go beyond the limits of the United States with intent to be entered into service as aforesaid. (But the said act is not to be construed to extend to a citizen or subject of either belligerent who, being transiently within the United States, shall, on

board of any vessel of war, which, at the time of its arrival within the United States, was fitted and equipped as such vessel of war, enlist or enter himself or hire or retain another subject or citizen of the same belligerent, who is transiently within the United States, to enlist or enter himself to serve such belligerent on board such vessel of war, if the United States shall then be at peace with such belligerent.)

8. Fitting out and arming, or attempting to fit out and arm, or procuring to be fitted out and armed, or knowingly being concerned in the furnishing, fitting out, or arming of any ship or vessel with intent that such ship or vessel shall be employed in the service of either of the said belligerents.

9. Issuing or delivering a commission within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States for any ship or vessel to the intent that she may be employed as aforesaid.

10. Increasing or augmenting, or procuring to be increased or augmented, or knowingly being concerned in increasing or augmenting, the force of any ship of war, cruiser, or other armed vessel, which at the time of her arrival within the United States was a ship of war, cruiser, or armed vessel in the service of either of the said belligerents, or belonging to the subjects of either, by adding to the number of guns of such vessels, or by changing those on board of her for guns of a larger calibre, or by the addition thereto of any equipment solely applicable to war.

11. Beginning or setting on foot or providing or preparing the means for any military expedition or enterprise to be carried on from the territory or jurisdiction of the United States against the territories or dominions of either of the said belligerents.

And I do hereby further declare and proclaim that any frequenting and use of the waters within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States by the armed vessels of a belligerent, whether public ships or privateers, for the purpose of preparing for hostile operations, or as posts of observation upon the ships of war or privateers or merchant vessels of a belligerent lying within or being about to enter the jurisdiction of the United States, must be regarded as unfriendly and offensive, and in violation of that neutrality which it is the determination of this government to observe; and to the end that the hazard and inconvenience of such apprehended practices may be avoided, I further proclaim and declare that from and after the fifth day of August instant, and during the continuance of the present hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia, and Germany and Russia and Germany and France, no ship of war or privateer of any belligerent shall be permitted to make use of any port, harbor, roadstead, or waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States from which a vessel of an opposing belligerent (whether the same shall be a ship of war,

a privateer, or a merchant ship) shall have previously departed, until after the expiration of at least twenty-four hours from the departure of such last-mentioned vessel beyond the jurisdiction of the United States. If any ship of war or privateer of a belligerent shall, after the time this notification takes effect, enter any port, harbor, roadstead, or waters of the United States, such vessel shall be required to depart and to put to sea within twenty-four hours after her entrance into such port, harbor, roadstead, or waters, except in case of stress of weather or of her requiring provisions or things necessary for the subsistence of her crew, or for repairs; in any of which cases the authorities of the port or of the nearest port (as the case may be) shall require her to put to sea as soon as possible after the expiration of such period of twenty-four hours, without permitting her to take in supplies beyond what may be necessary for her immediate use; and no such vessel which may have been permitted to remain within the waters of the United States for the purpose of repair shall continue within such port, harbor, roadstead, or waters for a longer period than twenty-four hours after her necessary repairs shall have been completed, unless within such twenty-four hours a vessel, whether ship of war, privateer, or merchant ship of an opposing belligerent, shall have departed therefrom, in which case the time limited for the departure of such ship of war or privateer shall be extended so far as may be necessary to secure an interval of not less than twenty-four hours between such departure and that of any ship of war, privateer, or merchant ship of an opposing belligerent which may have previously quit the same port, harbor, roadstead, or waters. No ship of war or privateer of a belligerent shall be detained in any port, harbor, roadstead, or waters of the United States more than twenty-four hours, by reason of the successive departures from such port, harbor, roadstead, or waters of more than one vessel of an opposing belligerent. But if there be several vessels of opposing belligerents in the same port, harbor, roadstead, or waters, the order of their departure therefrom shall be so arranged as to afford the opportunity of leaving alternately to the vessels of the opposing belligerents, and to cause the least detention consistent with the objects of this proclamation. No ship of war or privateer of a belligerent shall be permitted, while in any port, harbor, roadstead, or waters within the jurisdiction of the United States, to take in any supplies except provisions and such other things as may be requisite for the subsistence of her crew, and except so much coal only as may be sufficient to carry such vessel, if without any sail power, to the nearest port of her own country; or in case the vessel is rigged to go under sail, and may also be propelled by steam power, then with half the quantity of coal which she would be entitled to receive, if dependent upon steam alone, and no coal shall be again supplied to any such ship of war or privateer in the same or any other port, harbor,

roadstead, or waters of the United States, without special permission, until after the expiration of three months from the time when such coal may have been last supplied to her within the waters of the United States, unless such ship of war or privateer shall, since last thus supplied, have entered a port of the government to which she belongs.

And I do further declare and proclaim that the statutes and the treaties of the United States and the law of nations alike require that no person, within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States, shall take part, directly or indirectly, in the said wars, but shall remain at peace with all of the said belligerents, and shall maintain a strict and impartial neutrality.

And I do hereby enjoin all citizens of the United States, and all persons residing or being within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, to observe the laws thereof, and to commit no act contrary to the provisions of the said statutes or treaties or in violation of the law of nations in that behalf.

And I do hereby warn all citizens of the United States, and all persons residing or being within its territory or jurisdiction that, while the free and full expression of sympathies in public and private is not restricted by the laws of the United States, military forces in aid of a belligerent cannot lawfully be originated or organized within its jurisdiction; and that, while all persons may lawfully and without restriction by reason of the aforesaid state of war manufacture and sell within the United States arms and munitions of war, and other articles ordinarily known as "contraband of war," yet they cannot carry such articles upon the high seas for the use or service of a belligerent, nor can they transport soldiers and officers of a belligerent, or attempt to break any blockade which may be lawfully established and maintained during the said wars without incurring the risk of hostile capture and the penalties denounced by the law of nations in that behalf.

And I do hereby give notice that all citizens of the United States and others who may claim the protection of this government, who may misconduct themselves in the premises, will do so at their peril, and that they can in no wise obtain any protection from the government of the United States against the consequences of their misconduct.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this fourth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, and
[SEAL.] of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Germany and Great Britain.]

Whereas a state of war unhappily exists between Germany and Great Britain; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

Done at the city of Washington this fifth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, and
[SEAL.] of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Austria-Hungary and Russia.]

Whereas a state of war unhappily exists between Austria-Hungary and Russia; and Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

Done at the city of Washington this seventh day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, and
[SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Great Britain and Austria-Hungary.]

Whereas a state of war unhappily exists between Great Britain and Austria-Hungary; and Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

Done at the city of Washington this thirteenth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, [SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—France and Austria-Hungary.]

WHEREAS a state of war unhappily exists between France and Austria-Hungary; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

Done at the city of Washington this fourteenth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and [SEAL.] fourteen and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Belgium and Germany.]

WHEREAS the United States is in fact aware of the existence of a state of war between Belgium and Germany; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

DONE at the city of Washington this twenty-fourth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and [SEAL.] fourteen and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Japan and Germany.]

WHEREAS a state of war unhappily exists between Japan and Germany; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

DONE at the city of Washington this twenty-fourth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and [SEAL.] fourteen and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

[Neutrality—Japan and Austria-Hungary.]

Whereas a state of war unhappily exists between Japan and Austria-Hungary; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

Done at the city of Washington this twenty-seventh day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and four-
[SEAL.] teen and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

[Neutrality—Belgium and Austria-Hungary.]

Whereas a state of war unhappily exists between Belgium and Austria-Hungary; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

Done at the city of Washington this first day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen
[SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

[An Appeal by the President of the United States to the Citizens of the Republic, Requesting Their Assistance in Maintaining a State of Neutrality During the European War.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 20, 1914.*

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN: I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself, during these last troubled weeks, what influence the European war may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the Nation against distress and disaster.

The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the Nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions on the street.

The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility, responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action.

Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact

as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought, as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a Nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a Nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraints which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?

WOODROW WILSON.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Appointing Experts for War Risk Insurance in Treasury Department.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 10, 1914.*

Mr. William C. DeLanoy may be appointed Director, and Mr. J. Brooks B. Parker may be appointed Assistant to the Director in the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department without compliance with Civil Service rules.

The issuance of this order is recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury for the reason that on account of the technical character of the work required, the services of specially qualified men will be necessary in the higher grades and Mr. DeLanoy and Mr. Parker are regarded as Experts in the particular line of work that will be assigned to the new Bureau.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Transferring Deadmans Island to the Health Service.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 26, 1914.*

It is hereby ordered that the following-described portion of the Military Reservation of Deadmans Island, situate at Los Angeles harbor, California, be and the same is hereby transferred to the Treasury Department and set aside for the use of the Public Health Service, viz.:

Beginning at U. S. Engineer Station "R," which is U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Station "Deadmans Island," thence N. $72^{\circ} 25'$ E. 413.32 feet to a point; thence S. $17^{\circ} 35'$ E. 500 feet to a point; thence S. $72^{\circ} 25'$ W. 522.72 feet to a point; thence N. $17^{\circ} 35'$ W. 500 feet to a point; thence N. $72^{\circ} 25'$ E. 109.4 feet to point of beginning.

Area: 6 acres.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS

[Delivered by President Wilson at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress, September 4, 1914, urging measures to provide additional revenues.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: I come to you to-day to discharge a duty which I wish with all my heart I might have been spared; but it is a very clear duty, and therefore I perform it without hesitation or apology. I come to ask very earnestly that additional revenue be provided for the Government.

During the month of August there was, as compared with the corresponding month of last year, a falling off of \$10,629,538 in the revenues collected from customs. A continuation of this decrease in the same proportion throughout the current fiscal year would probably mean a loss of customs revenues of from sixty to one hundred millions. I need not tell you to what this falling off is due. It is due, in chief part, not to the reductions recently made in the customs duties, but to the great decrease in importations; and that is due to the extraordinary extent of the industrial area affected by the present war in Europe. Conditions have arisen which no man foresaw; they affect the whole world of commerce and economic production; and they must be faced and dealt with.

It would be very unwise to postpone dealing with them. Delay in such a matter and in the particular circumstances in which we now find ourselves as a nation might involve consequences of the most embarrassing and deplorable sort, for which I, for one, would not care to be responsible. It would be very dangerous in the present circumstances to create a moment's doubt as to the strength and sufficiency of the Treasury of the United States, its ability to assist, to steady, and sustain the financial operations of the country's business. If the Treasury is known, or even thought, to be weak, where will be our peace of mind? The whole industrial activity of the country would be chilled and demoralized. Just now the peculiarly difficult financial problems of the moment are being successfully dealt with, with great self-possession and good sense and very sound judgment; but they are only in process of being worked out. If the process of solution is to be completed, no one must be given reason to doubt the solidity and adequacy of the Treasury of the Government which stands behind the whole method by which our difficulties are being met and handled.

The Treasury itself could get along for a considerable period, no doubt, without immediate resort to new sources of taxation. But at what cost to the business of the community? Approximately \$75,000,000, a large part of the present Treasury balance, is now on deposit with national banks distributed throughout the country. It is deposited, of course, on call. I need not point out to you what the prob-

able consequences of inconvenience and distress and confusion would be if the diminishing income of the Treasury should make it necessary rapidly to withdraw these deposits. And yet without additional revenue that plainly might become necessary, and the time when it became necessary could not be controlled or determined by the convenience of the business of the country. It would have to be determined by the operations and necessities of the Treasury itself. Such risks are not necessary and ought not to be run. We can not too scrupulously or carefully safeguard a financial situation which is at best, while war continues in Europe, difficult and abnormal. Hesitation and delay are the worst forms of bad policy under such conditions.

And we ought not to borrow. We ought to resort to taxation, however we may regret the necessity of putting additional temporary burdens on our people. To sell bonds would be to make a most untimely and unjustifiable demand on the money market; untimely, because this is manifestly not the time to withdraw working capital from other uses to pay the Government's bills; unjustifiable, because unnecessary. The country is able to pay any just and reasonable taxes without distress. And to every other form of borrowing, whether for long periods or for short, there is the same objection. These are not the circumstances, this is at this particular moment and in this particular exigency not the market, to borrow large sums of money. What we are seeking is to ease and assist every financial transaction, not to add a single additional embarrassment to the situation. The people of this country are both intelligent and profoundly patriotic. They are ready to meet the present conditions in the right way and to support the Government with generous self-denial. They know and understand, and will be intolerant only of those who dodge responsibility or are not frank with them.

The occasion is not of our own making. We had no part in making it. But it is here. It affects us as directly and palpably almost as if we were participants in the circumstances which gave rise to it. We must accept the inevitable with calm judgment and unruffled spirits, like men accustomed to deal with the unexpected, habituated to take care of themselves, masters of their own affairs and their own fortunes. We shall pay the bill, though we did not deliberately incur it.

In order to meet every demand upon the Treasury without delay or peradventure and in order to keep the Treasury strong, unquestionably strong, and strong throughout the present anxieties, I respectfully urge that an additional revenue of \$100,000,000 be raised through internal taxes devised in your wisdom to meet the emergency. The only suggestion I take the liberty of making is that such sources of revenue be chosen as will begin to yield at once and yield with a certain and constant flow.

I can not close without expressing the confidence with which I ap-

proach a Congress, with regard to this or any other matter, which has shown so untiring a devotion to public duty, which has responded to the needs of the Nation throughout a long season despite inevitable fatigue and personal sacrifice, and so large a proportion of whose Members have devoted their whole time and energy to the business of the country.

PROCLAMATIONS

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

[Convention with Republics of South and Central America for the Arbitration of Pecuniary Claims.]

Whereas a Convention between the United States of America and the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay and Venezuela for the arbitration of pecuniary claims, was concluded and signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries at Buenos Aires on the eleventh day of August, one thousand nine hundred and ten, the original of which Convention, being in the Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French languages, is word for word as follows:

1st. The High Contracting Parties agree to submit to arbitration all claims for pecuniary loss or damage which may be presented by their respective citizens and which can not be amicably adjusted through diplomatic channels, when said claims are of sufficient importance to warrant the expense of arbitration.

The decision shall be rendered in accordance with the principles of International Law.

2d. The High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the decision of the permanent Court of Arbitration of The Hague all controversies which are the subject-matter of the present Treaty, unless both parties agree to constitute a special jurisdiction.

If a case is submitted to the Permanent Court of The Hague, the High Contracting Parties accept the provisions of the treaty relating to the organization of that arbitral Tribunal, to the procedure to be followed and to the obligation to comply with the sentence.

3d. If it shall be agreed to constitute a special jurisdiction, there shall be prescribed in the convention by which this is determined the rules according to which the tribunal shall proceed, which shall have cognizance of the questions involved in the claims referred to in Article 1st of the present treaty.

4th. The present Treaty shall come into force immediately after the thirty-first of December, 1912, when the treaty on pecuniary claims,

signed at Mexico, on January 31, 1902, and extended by the treaty signed at Rio de Janeiro, on August 13, 1906, expires.

It shall remain in force indefinitely, as well for the nations which shall then have ratified it as those which shall ratify it subsequently.

The ratifications shall be transmitted to the Government of the Argentine Republic, which shall communicate them to the other contracting parties.

5th. Any of the nations ratifying the present Treaty may denounce it, on its own part, by giving two years' notice in writing, in advance, of its intention so to do.

This notice shall be transmitted to the Government of the Argentine Republic and through its intermediation, to the other contracting parties.

6th. The treaty of Mexico shall continue in force after December 31, 1912, as to any claims which may, prior to that date, have been submitted to arbitration under its provisions.

In witness whereof, the Plenipotentiaries and Delegates sign this Convention and affix to it the seal of the Fourth International American Conference.

Made and signed in the city of Buenos Aires, on the eleventh day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and ten, in the Spanish, English, Portuguese and French languages, and filed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, in order that certified copies may be taken to be forwarded through the appropriate Diplomatic channels to each one of the Signatory Nations.

And whereas, the said Convention has been ratified by the Government of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the Governments of the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Nicaragua, and Ecuador and the ratifications of the said Governments have been deposited by their respective Plenipotentiaries with the Government of the Argentine Republic;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Convention to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-ninth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen

[SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

[Convention with Republics of South and Central America for the Protection of Patents, Designs, and Industrial Models.]

Whereas a Convention between the United States of America and the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay and Venezuela for the protection of inventions, patents, designs, and industrial models, was concluded and signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries at Buenos Aires on the twentieth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and ten, the original of which Convention, being in the Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French languages, is word for word as follows:

The subscribing Nations enter into this convention for the protection of patents of invention, designs and industrial models.

Any persons who shall obtain a patent of invention in any of the signatory States shall enjoy in each of the other States all the advantages which the laws relative to patents of invention, designs and industrial models concede. Consequently, they shall have the right to the same protection and identical legal remedies against any attack upon their rights, provided they comply with the laws of each State.

Any person who shall have regularly deposited an application for a patent of invention or design or industrial model in one of the contracting States shall enjoy, for the purposes of making the deposit in the other States, and under the reserve of the rights of third parties, a right of priority during a period of twelve months for patents of invention, and of four months for designs or industrial models.

In consequence of the deposit subsequently made in any other of the signatory States before the expiration of these periods, can not be invalidated by acts performed in the interval, especially by other deposits, by the publication of the invention or its working, or by the sale of copies of the design or of the model.

When, within the terms fixed, a person shall have filed applications in several States for the patent of the same invention, the rights resulting from patents thus applied for shall be independent of each other.

They shall also be independent of the rights arising under patents obtained for the same invention in countries not parties to this Convention.

Questions which may arise regarding the priority of patents of invention, shall be decided with regard to the date of the application for the respective patents in the countries in which they are granted.

The following shall be considered as inventions: A new manner of manufacturing industrial products; a new machine or mechanical or

manual apparatus which serves for the manufacture of said products; the discovery of a new industrial product; the application of known methods for the purpose of securing better results; and every new, original and ornamental design or model for an article of manufacture.

The foregoing shall be understood without prejudice to the laws of each State. Any of the signatory States may refuse to recognize patents for any of the following causes:

(a) Because the inventions or discoveries may have been published in any country prior to the date of the invention by the applicant;

(b) Because the inventions have been registered, published, or described in any country more than one year prior to the date of the application in the country in which the patent is sought;

(c) Because the inventions have been in public use, or have been on sale in the country in which the patent has been applied for, one year prior to the date of said application;

(d) Because the inventions or discoveries are in some manner contrary to morals or laws.

The ownership of a patent of invention comprises the right to enjoy the benefits thereof, and the right to assign or transfer it in accordance with the laws of the country.

Persons who incur civil or criminal liabilities, because of injuries or damage to the rights of inventors, shall be prosecuted and punished, in accordance with the laws of the countries wherein the offence has been committed or the damage occasioned.

Copies of patents certified in the country of origin, according to the national law thereof, shall be given full faith and credit as evidence of the right of priority, except as stated in Article VII.

The treaties relating to patents of invention, designs or industrial models, previously entered into between the countries subscribing to the present Convention, shall be superseded by the same from the time of its ratification in so far as the relations between the signatory States are concerned.

The adhesion of the American Nations to the present Convention shall be communicated to the Government of the Argentine Republic in order that it may communicate them to the other States. These communications shall have the effect of an exchange of ratifications.

A signatory Nation that sees fit to retire from the present convention, shall notify the Government of the Argentine Republic, and one year after the receipt of the communication the force of this Convention shall cease, in so far as the nation which shall have withdrawn its adherence is concerned.

In witness whereof, the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and affixed thereto the seal of the Fourth International American Conference.

Made and signed in the city of Buenos Aires on the twentieth day

of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and ten, in Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French, and deposited in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, in order that certified copies be made for transmission to each of the Signatory Nations through the appropriate diplomatic channels.

And whereas, the said Convention has been ratified by the Government of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the Governments of the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Cuba, Honduras, Panama, Nicaragua and Ecuador and the ratifications of the said Governments have been deposited by their respective Plenipotentiaries with the Government of the Argentine Republic;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Convention to be made public, to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-ninth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen
[SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

[Regulations for the Protection of Migratory Birds.]

Whereas, by virtue of the authority and direction contained in the Act of Congress approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stat. 847), entitled "An Act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and fourteen," the Department of Agriculture has prepared, has finally adopted, and has caused to be engrossed and submitted to the President of the United States for approval, the following regulation:

Regulation 3 of the Regulations for the Protection of Migratory Birds, approved and proclaimed by the President of the United States on October 1, 1913, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

Regulation 3. Closed Season on Insectivorous Birds.

A closed season on migratory insectivorous birds shall continue throughout each year, except that the closed season on reedbirds

or ricebirds in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, and South Carolina, shall commence November 1 and end August 31, next following, both dates inclusive: Provided, That nothing in this or any other of these regulations shall be construed to prevent the issue of permits for collecting birds for scientific purposes in accordance with the laws and regulations in force in the respective States and Territories and the District of Columbia.

And Whereas, the Department of Agriculture after the preparation of said regulation has caused the same to be made public and has allowed a period of three months in which said regulation might be examined and considered before final adoption and has permitted public hearings thereon;

Now, Therefore, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority in me vested by the aforesaid Act of Congress, do hereby approve, proclaim and make known the foregoing regulation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this thirty-first day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and four-
[SEAL.] teen and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Combining Manzano and Zuni National Forests in Arizona and New Mexico.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 10, 1914.*

Under authority of the Act of Congress of June 4, 1897 (30 Stat. 11), and upon recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture, it is hereby ordered that all the lands included within the boundaries of the Zuni National Forest, Arizona and New Mexico, as fixed and defined by proclamation of July 1, 1910, and modified by Executive Order No. 1367 of May 31, 1911, and Executive Order No. 1482 of February 17, 1912, be, and the same hereby transferred to and made a part of the Manzano National Forest.

It is intended by this Executive Order for economy of administration to merge into one national forest, hereafter to be known as the Manzano National Forest, all the lands at the date hereof in the Zuni and Manzano National Forests, and the boundaries of the Manzano

National Forest as they existed at this date are hereby modified accordingly. This Executive Order is not intended to add to the Manzano National Forest any lands which at the date hereof are not embraced in the Zuni National Forest or to release from reservation for national forest purposes any lands at the date hereof within the Zuni National Forest.

WOODROW WILSON.

[To Amend the Canal Zone Law against Gambling.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 19, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me I hereby establish the following order for the Canal Zone:

Section 1 of Act No. 4, entitled "An Act to Prohibit Gambling in the Canal Zone, Isthmus of Panama, and to Provide for the Punishment of Violations thereof, and for other purposes" enacted by the Isthmian Canal Commission on August 22, 1904, is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 1. Every person, within the limits of the Canal Zone, who shall play at any game whatever for any sum of money or other property of value, or shall bet any money or property upon any gambling table, bank, or device, or at or upon any other gambling device, or who shall bet upon any game played at or by means of any such gaming table or gambling device, shall, upon conviction, be fined in any sum not exceeding One Hundred Dollars (\$100.00), or by imprisonment in jail not exceeding thirty (30) days, or shall suffer both such fine and imprisonment in the court's discretion.

This order shall take effect thirty days from and after its publication in the Canal Record.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Setting aside Public Land for an Elk Refugee.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 15, 1914.*

Under authority of the Act of Congress approved June 25, 1910 (36 Stat., 847), as amended by the Act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat., 497), and on the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture, it is hereby ordered that the public lands in Sec. 22, T. 41 N., R. 116 W., 6th P. M., Wyoming, be temporarily withdrawn subject to the conditions, provisions and limitations of said acts, in order that the Department of Agriculture may select certain lands therein for use as an elk refuge as provided in the Act of March 4, 1913 (37 Stat., 847).

The Executive Order No. 1814, dated August 25, 1913, withdrawing the therein described lands is hereby revoked in so far as it affects Sec. 1, T. 41 N., R. 116 W., 6th P. M.

WOODROW WILSON.

[To Divide Administrative Site Within Oregon National Forest, Oregon.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 15, 1914.*

On the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture it is hereby ordered that the withdrawal of the following described tract of unsurveyed land, containing approximately 40 acres, reserved as a ranger station for the use of the Forest Service in connection with the administration of the Oregon National Forest, Oregon, made by Executive Order (1957) of June 6, 1914, under authority of the Act of Congress approved June 25, 1910 (36 Stat., 847), as amended by the Act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat., 497), be revoked.

In T. 9 S., R. 8 E., W. M., approximately Sec. 25: Beginning at Corner No. 1, which is the same as the 57 mile post of the west boundary of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation:

Thence South 20 chains to corner No. 2

" East 20 " " " " 3

" North 20 " " " " 4

" West 20 "

to Corner No. 1, the place of beginning. Variation 21° East.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Designating Customs Collection Districts.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *August 27, 1914.*

Hereafter, under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved August 1, 1914, making appropriations for the Sundry Civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and fifteen, the present Customs Collection Districts are officially designated by numbers and will be known as follows:

District No. 1.—Maine and New Hampshire.	No. 25—Eagle Pass.
No. 2—Eastern Vermont.	No. 26—Arizona.
No. 3—Western Vermont.	No. 27—Southern California.
No. 4—Massachusetts.	No. 28—San Francisco.
No. 5—Rhode Island.	No. 29—Oregon.
No. 6—Connecticut.	No. 30—Washington.
No. 7—St. Lawrence.	No. 31—Alaska.
No. 8—Rochester.	No. 32—Hawaii.
No. 9—Buffalo.	No. 33—Montana and Idaho.
No. 10—New York.	No. 34—Dakota.
No. 11—Philadelphia.	No. 35—Minnesota.
No. 12—Pittsburgh.	No. 36—Duluth and Superior.
No. 13—Maryland.	No. 37—Wisconsin.
No. 14—Virginia.	No. 38—Michigan.
No. 15—North Carolina.	No. 39—Chicago.
No. 16—South Carolina.	No. 40—Indiana.
No. 17—Georgia.	No. 41—Ohio.
No. 18—Florida.	No. 42—Kentucky.
No. 19—Mobile.	No. 43—Tennessee.
No. 20—New Orleans.	No. 44—Iowa.
No. 21—Sabine.	No. 45—St. Louis.
No. 22—Galveston.	No. 46—Omaha.
No. 23—Laredo.	No. 47—Colorado.
No. 24—El Paso.	No. 48—Utah and Nevada.
	No. 49—Porto Rico.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Ranger Station for Clear Creek Administrative Site near Coconino National Forest, Arizona.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 15, 1914.*

Under authority of the Act of Congress approved June 25, 1910 (36 Stat., 847), as amended by the Act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat., 497), and on the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture, it is hereby ordered that the E $\frac{1}{2}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Section 13, Township 13 North, Range 5 East, G. & S. R. M., containing 80 acres, be temporarily withdrawn from settlement, location, sale or entry, except as provided in said acts, and be reserved for use by the Forest Service as a ranger station in connection with the administration of the Coconino National Forest.

WOODROW WILSON.

[To Amend the Executive Order of March 20, 1914, Relating to Compensation to be Paid to Injured Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 19, 1914.*

By virtue of the authority vested in me, I hereby establish the following order for the Canal Zone:

Section 1. Paragraph E of Section 12, of the Executive Order of March 20, 1914, relating to injury compensation to be paid to employees of The Panama Canal, and the Panama Railroad Company, is hereby amended to read as follows:

(E) If the deceased employee leaves a parent, either partially or wholly dependent on him for support; or a brother, sister, grand-parent or grand-child, wholly dependent on him for support, there may be paid to such relation monthly such portion or portions of the monthly pay of the employee as may be determined by the Governor of The Panama Canal, provided that the total compensation to all beneficiaries under this and paragraphs A, B, C and D of this section shall not exceed fifty per cent of the monthly pay of the deceased employee, and provided, that in order to make payment to the relatives under this paragraph, the Governor of The Panama Canal may, if necessary, reduce the proportion payable to widow or children under paragraphs A, B, C and D of this section, and, provided further, that payment for the benefit of a relative under this paragraph shall cease if he dies, marries, or, in the opinion of the Governor, becomes capable of self-support, but in no case shall payment continue more than eight years.

This amendment shall be effective from the date the order of March 20, 1914, became effective, viz.: April 1, 1914.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESSES.

[Before the American Bar Association at Continental Hall, Washington, Oct. 20,
1914.]

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION:

I am very deeply gratified by the greeting that your president has given me and by your response to it. My only strength lies in your confidence.

We stand now in a peculiar case. Our first thought, I suppose, as lawyers, is of international law, of those bonds of right and principle which draw the nations together and hold the community of the world to some standards of action. We know that we see in international law, as it were, the moral processes by which law itself came into existence. I know that as a lawyer I have myself at times felt that there was no real comparison between the law of a nation and the law of nations, because the latter lacked the sanction that gave the former strength and validity. And yet, if you look into the matter more closely, you will find that the two have the same foundations, and that those foundations are more evident and conspicuous in our day than they have ever been before.

The opinion of the world is the mistress of the world; and the processes of international law are the slow processes by which opinion works its will. What impresses me is the constant thought that that is the tribunal at the bar of which we all sit. I would call your attention, incidentally, to the circumstance that it does not observe the ordinary rules of evidence; which has sometimes suggested to me that the ordinary rules of evidence had shown some signs of growing antique. Everything, rumor included, is heard in this court, and the standard of judgment is not so much the character of the testimony as the character of the witness. The motives are disclosed, the purposes are conjectured, and that opinion is finally accepted which seems to be, not the best founded in law, perhaps, but the best founded in integrity of character and of morals. That is the process which is slowly working its will upon the world; and what we should be watchful of is not so much jealous interests as sound principles of action. The disinterested course is always the biggest course to pursue not only, but it is in the long run the most profitable course to pursue. If you can establish your character, you can establish your credit.

What I wanted to suggest to this association, in bidding them very hearty welcome to the city, is whether we sufficiently apply these same ideas to the body of municipal law which we seek to administer. Citations seem to play so much larger a rôle now than principle. There was a time when the thoughtful eye of the judge rested upon the changes of social circumstances and almost palpably saw the law

arise out of human life. Have we got to a time when the only way to change law is by statute? The changing of law by statute seems to me like mending a garment with a patch; whereas, law should grow by the life that is in it, not by the life that is outside of it.

I once said to a lawyer with whom I was discussing some question of precedent, and in whose presence I was venturing to doubt the rational validity, at any rate, of the particular precedents he cited, "After all, isn't our object justice?" And he said, "God forbid! We should be very much confused if we made that our standard. Our standard is to find out what the rule has been and how the rule that has been applies to the case that is." I should hate to think that the law was based entirely upon "has beens." I should hate to think that the law did not derive its impulse from looking forward rather than from looking backward, or, rather, that it did not derive its instruction from looking about and seeing what the circumstances of man actually are and what the impulses of justice necessarily are.

Understand me, gentlemen, I am not venturing in this presence to impeach the law. For the present, by the force of circumstances, I am in part the embodiment of the law and it would be very awkward to disavow myself. But I do wish to make this intimation, that in this time of world change, in this time when we are going to find out just how, in what particulars, and to what extent the real facts of human life and the real moral judgments of mankind prevail, it is worth while looking inside our municipal law and seeing whether the judgments of the law are made square with the moral judgments of mankind. For I believe that we are custodians, not of commands, but of a spirit. We are custodians of the spirit of righteousness, of the spirit of equal-handed justice, of the spirit of hope which believes in the perfectibility of the law with the perfectibility of human life itself.

Public life, like private life, would be very dull and dry if it were not for this belief in the essential beauty of the human spirit and the belief that the human spirit could be translated into action and into ordinance. Not entire. You can not go any faster than you can advance the average moral judgments of the mass, but you can go at least as fast as that, and you can see to it that you do not lag behind the average moral judgments of the mass. I have in my life dealt with all sorts and conditions of men, and I have found that the flame of moral judgment burned just as bright in the man of humble life and limited experience as in the scholar and the man of affairs. And I would like his voice always to be heard, not as a witness, not as speaking in his own case, but as if he were the voice of men in general, in our courts of justice, as well as the voice of the lawyers, remembering what the law has been. My hope is that, being stirred to the depths by the extraordinary circumstances of

the time in which we live, we may recover from those depths something of a renewal of that vision of the law with which men may be supposed to have started out in the old days of the oracles, who communed with the intimations of divinity.

[At Y. M. C. A. Celebration, Pittsburgh, Pa., Oct. 24, 1914.]

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. PORTER, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN :

I feel almost as if I were a truant, being away from Washington to-day, but I thought that perhaps if I were absent the Congress would have the more leisure to adjourn. I do not ordinarily open my office at Washington on Saturday. Being a schoolmaster, I am accustomed to a Saturday holiday, and I thought I could not better spend a holiday than by showing at least something of the true direction of my affections; for by long association with the men who have worked for this organization I can say that it has enlisted my deep affection.

I am interested in it for various reasons. First of all, because it is an association of young men. I have had a good deal to do with young men in my time, and I have formed an impression of them which I believe to be contrary to the general impression. They are generally thought to be arch radicals. As a matter of fact, they are the most conservative people I have ever dealt with. Go to a college community and try to change the least custom of that little world and find how the conservatives will rush at you. Moreover, young men are embarrassed by having inherited their fathers' opinions. I have often said that the use of a university is to make young gentlemen as unlike their fathers as possible. I do not say that with the least disrespect for the fathers; but every man who is old enough to have a son in college is old enough to have become very seriously immersed in some particular business and is almost certain to have caught the point of view of that particular business. And it is very useful to his son to be taken out of that narrow circle, conducted to some high place where he may see the general map of the world and of the interests of mankind, and there shown how big the world is and how much of it his father may happen to have forgotten. It would be worth while for men, middle-aged and old, to detach themselves more frequently from the things that command their daily attention and to think of the sweeping tides of humanity.

Therefore I am interested in this association, because it is intended to bring young men together before any crust has formed over them, before they have been hardened to any particular occupation, before they have caught an inveterate point of view; while they still have a searchlight that they can swing and see what it reveals of all the circumstances of the hidden world.

I am the more interested in it because it is an association of young

men who are Christians. I wonder if we attach sufficient importance to Christianity as a mere instrumentality in the life of mankind. For one, I am not fond of thinking of Christianity as the means of saving *individual* souls. I have always been very impatient of processes and institutions which said that their purpose was to put every man in the way of developing his character. My advice is: Do not think about your character. If you will think about what you ought to do for other people, your character will take care of itself. Character is a by-product, and any man who devotes himself to its cultivation in his own case will become a selfish prig. The only way your powers can become great is by exerting them outside the circle of your own narrow, special, selfish interests. And that is the reason of Christianity. Christ came into the world to save others, not to save himself; and no man is a true Christian who does not think constantly of how he can lift his brother, how he can assist his friend, how he can enlighten mankind, how he can make virtue the rule of conduct in the circle in which he lives. An association merely of young men might be an association that had its energies put forth in every direction, but an association of Christian young men is an association meant to put its shoulders under the world and lift it, so that other men may feel that they have companions in bearing the weight and heat of the day; that other men may know that there are those who care for them, who would go into places of difficulty and danger to rescue them, who regard themselves as their brother's keeper.

And, then, I am glad that it is an association. Every word of its title means an element of strength. Young men are strong. Christian young men are the strongest kind of young men, and when they associate themselves together they have the incomparable strength of organization. The Young Men's Christian Association once excited, perhaps it is not too much to say, the hostility of the organized churches of the Christian world, because the movement looked as if it were so nonsectarian, as if it were so outside the ecclesiastical field, that perhaps it was an effort to draw young men away from the churches and to substitute this organization for the great bodies of Christian people who joined themselves in the Christian denominations. But after a while it appeared that it was a great instrumentality that belonged to all the churches; that it was a common instrument for sending the light of Christianity out into the world in its most practical form, drawing young men who were strangers into places where they could have companionship that stimulated them and suggestions that kept them straight and occupations that amused them without vicious practice; and then, by surrounding themselves with an atmosphere of purity and of simplicity of life, catch something of a glimpse of the great ideal which Christ lifted when He was elevated upon the cross.

I remember hearing a very wise man say once, a man grown old in the service of a great church, that he had never taught his son religion dogmatically at any time; that he and the boy's mother had agreed that if the atmosphere of that home did not make a Christian of the boy, nothing that they could say would make a Christian of him. They knew that Christianity was catching, and if they did not have it, it would not be communicated. If they did have it, it would penetrate while the boy slept, almost; while he was unconscious of the sweet influences that were about him, while he reckoned nothing of instruction, but merely breathed into his lungs the wholesome air of a Christian home. That is the principle of the Young Men's Christian Association—to make a place where the atmosphere makes great ideals contagious. That is the reason that I said, though I had forgotten that I said it, what is quoted on the outer page of the program—that you can test a modern community by the degree of its interest in its Young Men's Christian Association. You can test whether it knows what road it wants to travel or not. You can test whether it is deeply interested in the spiritual and essential prosperity of its rising generation. I know of no test that can be more conclusively put to a community than that.

I want to suggest to the young men of this association that it is the duty of young men not only to combine for the things that are good, but to combine in a militant spirit. There is a fine passage in one of Milton's prose writings which I am sorry to say I can not quote, but the meaning of which I can give you, and it is worth hearing. He says that he has no patience with a cloistered virtue that does not go out and seek its adversary. Ah, how tired I am of the men who are merely on the defensive, who hedge themselves in, who perhaps enlarge the hedge enough to include their little family circle and ward off all the evil influences of the world from that loved and hallowed group! How tired I am of the men whose virtue is selfish because it is merely self-protective! And how much I wish that men by the hundred thousand might volunteer to go out and seek the adversary and subdue him!

I have had the fortune to take part in affairs of a considerable variety of sorts, and I have tried to hate as few persons as possible, but there is an exquisite combination of contempt and hate that I have for a particular kind of person, and that is the moral coward. I wish we could give all our cowards a perpetual vacation. Let them go off and sit on the side lines and see us play the game; and put them off the field if they interfere with the game. They do nothing but harm, and they do it by that most subtle and fatal thing of all, that of taking the momentum and the spirit and the forward dash out of things. A man who is virtuous and a coward has no marketable virtue about him. The virtue, I repeat, which is merely self-defensive is not ser-

viceable even, I suspect, to himself. For how a man can swallow and not taste bad when he is a coward and thinking only of himself I can not imagine.

Be militant! Be an organization that is going to do things! If you can find older men who will give you countenance and acceptable leadership, follow them; but if you can not, organize separately and dispense with them. There are only two sorts of men worth associating with when something is to be done. Those are young men and men who never grow old. Now, if you find men who have grown old, about whom the crust had hardened, whose hinges are stiff, whose minds always have their eye over the shoulder thinking of things as they *were* done, do not have anything to do with them. It would not be Christian to exclude them from your organization, but merely use them to pad the roll. If you can find older men who will lead you acceptably and keep you in countenance, I am bound as an older man to advise you to follow them. But suit yourselves. Do not follow people that stand still. Just remind them that this is not a statical proposition; it is a movement, and if they can not get a move on them they are not serviceable.

Life, gentlemen—the life of society, the life of the world—has constantly to be fed from the bottom. It has to be fed by those great sources of strength which are constantly rising in new generations. Red blood has to be pumped into it. New fiber has to be supplied. That is the reason I have always said that I believed in popular institutions. If you can guess beforehand who your rulers are going to be, you can guess with a very great certainty that most of them will not be fit to rule. The beauty of popular institutions is that you do not know where the man is going to come from, and you do not care so he is the right man. You do not know whether he will come from the avenue or from the alley. You do not know whether he will come from the city or the farm. You do not know whether you will ever have heard that name before or not. Therefore you do not limit at any point your supply of new strength. You do not say it has got to come through the blood of a particular family or through the processes of a particular training, or by anything except the native impulse and genius of the man himself. The humblest hovel, therefore, may produce you your greatest man. A very humble hovel did produce you one of your greatest men. That is the process of life, this constant surging up of the new strength of unnamed, unrecognized, uncatalogued men who are just getting into the running, who are just coming up from the masses of the unrecognized multitude. You do not know when you will see above the level masses of the crowd some great stature lifted head and shoulders above the rest, shouldering its way, not violently but gently, to the front and saying, "Here am I; follow me." And his voice will be your voice, his

thought will be your thought, and you will follow him as if you were following the best things in yourselves.

When I think of an association of Christian young men I wonder that it has not already turned the world upside down. I wonder, not that it has done so much, for it has done a great deal, but that it has done so little; and I can only conjecture that it does not realize its own strength. I can only imagine that it has not yet got its pace. I wish I could believe, and I do believe, that at 70 it is just reaching its majority, and that from this time on a dream greater even than George Williams ever dreamed will be realized in the great accumulating momentum of Christian men throughout the world. For, gentlemen, this is an age in which the principles of men who utter public opinion dominate the world. It makes no difference what is done for the time being. After the struggle is over the jury will sit, and nobody can corrupt that jury.

At one time I tried to write history. I did not know enough to write it, but I knew from experience how hard it was to find an historian out, and I trusted I would not be found out. I used to have this comfortable thought as I saw men struggling in the public arena. I used to think to myself, "This is all very well and very interesting. You probably assess yourself in such and such a way. Those who are your partisans assess you thus and so. Those who are your opponents urge a different verdict. But it does not make very much difference, because after you are dead and gone some quiet historian will sit in a secluded room and tell mankind for the rest of time just what to think about you, and his verdict, not the verdict of your partisans and not the verdict of your opponents, will be the verdict of posterity." I say that I used to say that to myself. It very largely was not so. And yet it was true in this sense: If the historian really speaks the judgment of the succeeding generation, then he really speaks the judgment also of the generations that succeed it, and his assessment, made without the passion of the time, made without partisan feeling in the matter—in other circumstances, when the air is cool—is the judgment of mankind upon your actions.

Now, is it not very important that we who shall constitute a portion of the jury should get our best judgments to work and base them upon Christian forbearance and Christian principles, upon the idea that it is impossible by sophistication to establish that a thing that is wrong is right? And yet, while we are going to judge with the absolute standard of righteousness, we are going to judge with Christian feeling, being men of a like sort ourselves, suffering the same temptations, having the same weaknesses, knowing the same passions; and while we do not condemn we are going to seek to say and to live the truth. What I am hoping for is that these 70 years have just been a running start, and that now there will be a great rush of Christian

principle upon the strongholds of evil and of wrong in the world. Those strongholds are not as strong as they look. Almost every vicious man is afraid of society, and if you once open the door where he is, he will run. All you have to do is to fight, not with cannon but with light.

May I illustrate it in this way? The Government of the United States has just succeeded in concluding a large number of treaties with the leading nations of the world, the sum and substance of which is this, that whenever any trouble arises the light shall shine on it for a year before anything is done; and my prediction is that after the light has shone on it for a year it will not be necessary to do anything; that after we know what happened, then we will know who was right and who was wrong. I believe that light is the greatest sanitary influence in the world. That, I suppose, is scientific commonplace, because if you want to make a place wholesome the best instrument you can use is the sun; to let his rays in, let him search out all the miasma that may lurk there. So with moral light: It is the most wholesome and rectifying, as well as the most revealing, thing in the world, provided it be genuine moral light; not the light of inquisitiveness, not the light of the man who likes to turn up ugly things, not the light of the man who disturbs what is corrupt for the mere sake of the sensation that he creates by disturbing it, but the moral light, the light of the man who discloses it in order that all the sweet influences of the world may go in and make it better.

That, in my judgment, is what the Young Men's Christian Association can do. It can point out to its members the things that are wrong. It can guide the feet of those who are going astray; and when its members have realized the power of the Christian principle, then they will not be men if they do not unite to see that the rest of the world experiences the same emancipation and reaches the same happiness of release.

I believe in the Young Men's Christian Association because I believe in the progress of moral ideas in the world; and I do not know that I am sure of anything else. When you are after something and have formulated it and have done the very best thing you know how to do, you have got to be sure for the time being that that is the thing to do. But you are a fool if in the back of your head you do not know it is possible that you are mistaken. All that you can claim is that that is the thing as you see it now and that you can not stand still; that you must push forward the things that are right. It may turn out that you made mistakes, but what you do know is your direction, and you are sure you are moving in that way. I was once a college reformer, until discouraged, and I remember a classmate of mine saying, "Why, man, can't you let anything alone?" I said, "I let everything alone that you can show me is not itself moving in the

wrong direction, but I am not going to let those things alone that I see are going downhill"; and I borrowed this illustration from an ingenious writer. He says, "If you have a post that is painted white and want to keep it white, you can not let it alone; and if anybody says to you, 'Why don't you let that post alone?' you will say, 'Because I want it to stay white, and therefore I have got to paint it at least every second year.'" There isn't anything in this world that will not change if you absolutely let it alone, and therefore you have constantly to be attending to it to see that it is being taken care of in the right way and that, if it is part of the motive force of the world, it is moving in the right direction.

That means that eternal vigilance is the price, not only of liberty, but of a great many other things. It is the price of everything that is good. It is the price of one's own soul. It is the price of the souls of the people you love; and when it comes down to the final reckoning you have a standard that is immutable. What shall a man give in exchange for his own soul? Will he sell that? Will he consent to see another man sell his soul? Will he consent to see the conditions of his community such that men's souls are debauched and trodden under foot in the mire? What shall he give in exchange for his own soul, or any other man's soul? And since the world, the world of affairs, the world of society, is nothing less and nothing more than all of us put together, it is a great enterprise for the salvation of the soul in this world as well as in the next. There is a text in Scripture that has always interested me profoundly. It says godliness is profitable in this life as well as in the life that is to come; and if you do not start it in this life, it will not reach the life that is to come. Your measurements, your directions, your whole momentum, have to be established before you reach the next world. This world is intended as the place in which we shall show that we know how to grow in the stature of manliness and of righteousness.

I have come here to bid Godspeed to the great work of the Young Men's Christian Association. I love to think of the gathering force of such things as this in the generations to come. If a man had to measure the accomplishments of society, the progress of reform, the speed of the world's betterment, by the few little things that happened in his own life, by the trifling things that he can contribute to accomplish, he would indeed feel that the cost was much greater than the result. But no man can look at the past of the history of this world without seeing a vision of the future of the history of this world; and when you think of the accumulated moral forces that have made one age better than another age in the progress of mankind, then you can open your eyes to the vision. You can see that age by age, though with a blind struggle in the dust of the road, though often mistaking the path and losing its way in the mire, mankind is yet—

sometimes with bloody hands and battered knees—nevertheless struggling step after step up the slow stages to the day when he shall live in the full light which shines upon the uplands, where all the light that illumines mankind shines direct from the face of God.

LETTER.

[To Mr. Underwood, Commending the Work of the Second Session of the Sixty-third Congress.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *Washington, October 17, 1914.*

MY DEAR MR. UNDERWOOD:

I can not let this session of Congress close without expressing my warm admiration for the fidelity and intelligence with which the program outlined in April and December of last year has been carried out, and my feeling that the people of the country have been served by the members of this Congress as they have seldom, if ever, been served before. The program was a great one, and it is a matter of deep satisfaction to think of the way in which it has been handled.

It had several distinct parts and many items, but, after all, a single purpose, namely, to destroy private control and set business free. That purpose was manifest enough in the case of the tariff and in the legislation affecting trusts; but, though perhaps less evident upon the surface there, it lay at the very heart of the currency bill, too. May I not add, even though it lies outside the field of legislation, that that, and that chiefly, has been the object of the foreign policy of the Government during the last 18 months?

Private control had shown its sinister face on every hand in America, had shown it for a long time, and sometimes very brazenly, in the trusts and in a virtual domination of credit by small groups of men. The safest hiding place and covert of such control was in the tariff. There it for a long time hid very shrewdly. The tariff was a very complicated matter; none but experts thoroughly understood its schedules. Many of the schedules were framed to afford particular advantages to special groups of manufacturers and investors. That was the soil in which trade combinations and combinations of manufacturers most readily grew, and most rankly. High prices did not spring directly out of the tariff. They sprang out of the suppression of domestic, no less than of foreign, competition by means of combinations and trade agreements which could be much more easily contrived and maintained under the protection of a high tariff than without it. The European war came before the withdrawal of this much-coveted opportunity, for monopoly could show its full effects and active competition bring prices to their normal level again; but it is clear enough already that the reduction of the tariff, the simplification of its schedules so as to cut

away the jungle in which secret agencies had so long lurked, the correction of its inequalities, and its thorough recasting with the single honest object of revenue, were an indispensable first step to reestablishing competition.

The present Congress has taken that step with courage, sincerity, and effectiveness. The lobby by which some of the worst features of the old tariff had been maintained was driven away by the mere pitiless turning on of the light. The principle was adopted that each duty levied was to be tested by the inquiry whether it was put at such a figure and levied in such a manner as to provoke competition. The soil in which combinations had grown was removed lest some of the seeds of monopoly might be found to remain in it. The thing had needed to be done for a long time, but nobody had ventured before to undertake it in systematic fashion.

The panic that the friends of privilege had predicted did not follow. Business has already adjusted itself to the new conditions with singular ease and elasticity, because the new conditions are in fact more normal than the old. The revenue lost by the import duties was replaced by an income tax which in part shifted the burden of taxation from the shoulders of every consumer in the country, great or small, to shoulders more certainly able to bear it.

We had time to learn from the actual administration of the law that the revenues resulting from the double change would have been abundant had it not been for the breaking out of the present war in Europe, which affects almost every route of trade and every market in the world outside of the United States. Until the war ends, and until its effects upon manufacture and commerce have been corrected we shall have to impose additional taxes to make up for the loss of such part of our import duties as the war cuts off by cutting off the imports themselves—a veritable war tax, though we are not at war; for war, and only war, is the cause of it.

It is fortunate that the reduction of the duties came first. The import duties collected under the old tariff constituted a much larger proportion of the whole revenue of the Government than to the duties under the new. A still larger proportion of the revenue would have been cut off by the war had the old taxes stood, and a larger war tax would have been necessary as a consequence. No miscalculation, no lack of foresight, has created the necessity for the taxes, but only a great catastrophe world-wide in its operation and effects.

With similar purpose and in a like temper the Congress has sought, in the Trade-Commission bill and in the Clayton bill, to make men in a small way of business as free to succeed as men in a big way, and to kill monopoly in the seed. Before these bills were passed the law was already clear enough that monopolies once formed were illegal and could be dissolved by direct process of law and those who had

created them punished as for crime. But there was no law to check the process by which monopoly was built up until the tree was full grown and its fruit developed, or, at any rate, until the full opportunity for monopoly had been created. With this new legislation there is clear and sufficient law to check and destroy the noxious growth in its infancy. Monopolies are built up by unfair methods of competition, and the new Trade Commission has power to forbid and prevent unfair competition, whether upon a big scale or upon a little; whether just begun or grown old and formidable. Monopoly is created also by putting the same men in charge of a variety of business enterprises, whether apparently related or unrelated to one another, by means of interlocking directorates. That the Clayton bill now in large measure prevents. Each enterprise must depend upon its own initiative and effectiveness for success, and upon the intelligence and business energy of the men who officer it. And so all along the line: Monopoly is to be cut off at the roots.

Incidentally, justice has been done the laborer. His labor is no longer to be treated as if it were merely an inanimate object of commerce disconnected from the fortunes and happiness of a living human being, to be dealt with as an object of sale and barter. But that, great as it is, is hardly more than the natural and inevitable corollary of a law whose object is individual freedom and initiative as against any kind of private domination.

The accomplishment of this legislation seems to me a singularly significant thing. If our party were to be called upon to name the particular point of principle in which it differs from its opponents most sharply and in which it feels itself most definitely sustained by experience, we should no doubt say that it was this: That we would have no dealings with monopoly, but reject it altogether; while our opponents were ready to adopt it into the realm of law, and seek merely to regulate it and moderate it in its operation. It is our purpose to destroy monopoly and maintain competition as the only effectual instrument of business liberty.

We have seen the nature of the power of monopoly exhibited. We know that it is more apt to control government than to be controlled by it; for we have seen it control government, dictate legislation, and dominate Executives and courts. We feel that our people are safe only in the fields of free individual endeavor where American genius and initiative are not guided by a few men as in recent years, but made rich by the activities of a multitude, as in days now almost forgotten. We will not consent that an ungovernable giant should be reared to full stature in the very household of the Government itself.

In like manner by the currency bill we have created a democracy of credit such as has never existed in this country before. For a generation or more we have known and admitted that we had the worst

banking and currency system in the world, because the volume of our currency was wholly inelastic; that is, because there was more than enough at certain seasons to meet the demands of commerce and credit, and at other times far too little; that we could not lessen the volume when we needed less nor increase it when we needed more. Everybody talked about the absurd system and its quite unnecessary embarrassments, sure to produce periodic panics; and everybody said that it ought to be changed and changed very radically; but nobody took effective steps to change it until the present Congress addressed itself to the task with genuine resolution and an intelligence which expressed itself in definite action. And now the thing is done.

Let bankers explain the technical features of the new system. Suffice it here to say that it provides a currency which expands as it is needed, and contracts when it is not needed; a currency which comes into existence in response to the call of every man who can show a going business and a concrete basis for extending credit to him, however obscure or prominent he may be, however big or little his business transactions.

More than that, the power to direct this system of credits is put into the hands of a public board of disinterested officers of the Government itself who can make no money out of anything they do in connection with it. No group of bankers anywhere can get control; no one part of the country can concentrate the advantages and conveniences of the system upon itself for its own selfish advantage. The board can oblige the banks of one region to go to the assistance of the banks of another. The whole resources of the country are mobilized, to be employed where they are most needed. I think we are justified in speaking of this as a democracy of credit. Credit is at the disposal of every man who can show energy and assets. Each region of the country is set to study its own needs and opportunities and the whole country stands by to assist. It is self-government as well as democracy.

I understand why it was not possible at this session to mature legislation intended specially for the development of a system for handling rural, or rather, agricultural credits; but the Federal Reserve Act itself facilitates and enlarges agricultural credit in an extraordinary degree. The farmer is as much a partner in the new democracy of credit as the merchant or manufacturer. Indeed, special and very liberal provision is made for his need, as will speedily appear when the system has been a little while in operation. His assets are as available as any other man's, and for credits of a longer term.

There have been many other measures passed of extraordinary importance, for the session has been singularly rich in thoughtful and constructive legislation; but I have mentioned the chief acts for which this Congress will be remembered as very notable, indeed. I did not mean when I began to write to make this letter so long, and even to

mention the other legislation that is worthy of high praise would extend it to an inordinate length. My purpose in writing was merely to express my own great admiration for the industry and the leadership, as well as the wisdom and constructive skill, which has accomplished all these things.

I wish I could speak by name of the many men who have so honorably shared in these distinguished labors. I doubt if there has ever been a finer exhibition of teamwork or of unhesitating devotion to the fulfillment of party pledges—and yet the best of it is that the great measures passed have shown, I venture to say, no partisan bias, but only a spirit of serious statesmanship. I am proud to have been associated with such men, working in such a spirit through so many months of unremitted labor at trying tasks of counsel. It has been a privilege to have a share in such labors. I wish I could express to every one of the Members who have thus cooperated together my personal appreciation of what he has helped to do. This letter may, I hope, serve in some sort as a substitute for that.

I look forward with confidence to the elections. The voters of the United States have never failed to reward real service. They have never failed to sustain a Congress and administration that were seeking, as this Congress and, I believe, this administration, have sought, to render them a permanent and disinterested benefit in the shape of reformed and rectified laws. They know that, extraordinary as the record is which I have cited, our task is not done; that a great work of constructive development remains to be accomplished, in building up our merchant marine, for instance, and in the completion of a great program for the conservation of our natural resources and the development of the water power of the country—a program which has at this session already been carried several steps toward consummation. They know, too, that without a Congress in close sympathy with the administration a whole scheme of peace and honor and disinterested service to the world, of which they have approved, can not be brought to its full realization. I would like to go into the district of every Member of Congress who has sustained and advanced the plans of the party and speak out my advocacy of his claim for reelection. But, of course, I can not do that; and with so clear a record no Member of Congress needs a spokesman. What he has done speaks for itself. If it be a mere question of political fortunes, I believe the immediate future of the party to be as certain as the past is secure.

The Democratic Party is now in fact the only instrument ready to the country's hand by which anything can be accomplished. It is united, as the Republican Party is not; it is strong and full of the zest of sober achievement, and has been rendered confident by carrying out a great constructive program such as no other party has attempted; it

is absolutely free from the entangling alliances which made the Republican Party, even before its rupture, utterly unserviceable as an instrument of reform; its thought, its ambition, its plans are of the vital present and the hopeful future. A practical Nation is not likely to reject such a team, full of the spirit of public service, and substitute, in the midst of great tasks, either a party upon which a deep demoralization has fallen or a party which has not grown to the stature that would warrant its assuming the responsible burdens of state. Every thoughtful man sees that a change of parties made just now would set the clock back, not forward. I have a very complete and very confident belief in the practical sagacity of the American people.

With sincere regard and admiration, faithfully, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

HON. OSCAR UNDERWOOD, *House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE ORDERS.

[Alaskan Townsite Withdrawal No. 4.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 8, 1914.*

Under and pursuant to the provisions of the act of Congress, approved March 12, 1914, entitled "An Act to authorize the President of the United States to locate, construct, and operate railroads in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes," it is hereby ordered that the following lands be, and the same are hereby, withdrawn from settlement, location, sale, entry and other disposition, and reserved for townsite purposes, as follows:

All of Sections 22, 23, 26, and 27, in T. 17 N., R. 1 W., Seward Meridian, Territory of Alaska.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Gray's Lake Administrative Site (Near Caribou National Forest) Idaho.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 28, 1914.*

Under authority of the Act of Congress approved June 25, 1910 (36 Stat., 847), as amended by the Act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat., 497), and on the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture, it is hereby ordered that the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 35, T. 4 S., R. 43 E., B. M., containing 40 acres, be temporarily withdrawn from settlement, location, sale or entry, except as provided in said acts, and be reserved for use by the Forest Service as an addition to a ranger station in connection with the administration of the Caribou National Forest, Idaho.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Admitting Foreign-Built Ships to American Registry.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 4, 1914.*

In pursuance of the authority conferred upon the President of the United States by Section 2 of the Act approved August 18, 1914, entitled "An Act to provide for the admission of foreign-built ships to American registry for the foreign trade, and for other purposes." it is hereby ordered:

1. That the provisions of law prescribing that the watch officers of vessels of the United States registered for foreign trade shall be citizens of the United States, are hereby suspended so far and for such length of time as is herein provided, namely,—

All foreign-built ships which shall be admitted to United States registry under said Act may retain the watch officers employed thereon, without regard to citizenship, for seven years from this date, and such watch officers shall be eligible for promotion. Any vacancy occurring among such watch officers within two years from this date may be filled without regard to citizenship; but any vacancy which may occur thereafter shall be filled by a watch officer who is a citizen of the United States.

2. That the provisions of law requiring survey, inspection and measurement, by officers of the United States, of foreign-built ships admitted to United States registry under said Act, are hereby suspended for two years from this date.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Taking Over High-Power Radio Station for Use of the Government.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 5, 1914.*

Whereas an order has been issued by me, dated August 5, 1914, declaring that all radio stations within the jurisdiction of the United States of America were prohibited from transmitting or receiving for delivery messages of an unneutral nature and from in any way rendering to any one of the belligerents any unneutral service; and

Whereas it is desirable to take precautions to insure the enforcement of said order insofar as it relates to the transmission of code and cipher messages by high-powered stations capable of trans-Atlantic communication;

Now, Therefore, it is ordered by virtue of authority vested in me by the radio Act of August 13, 1912, that one or more of the high-powered radio stations within the jurisdiction of the United States and capable of trans-Atlantic communication shall be taken over by the Government of the United States and used or controlled by it to the exclusion of any other control or use for the purpose of carrying on communication with land stations in Europe, including code and cipher messages.

The enforcement of this order and the preparation of regulations therefor is hereby delegated to the Secretary of the Navy, who is

authorized and directed to take such action in the premises as to him may appear necessary.

This order shall take effect from and after this date.

WOODROW WILSON.

PROCLAMATIONS

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[Setting Apart a Special Day for Prayer and Supplication.]

Whereas great nations of the world have taken up arms against one another and war now draws millions of men into battle whom the counsel of statesmen has not been able to save from the terrible sacrifice;

And Whereas in this as in all things it is our privilege and duty to seek counsel and succor of Almighty God, humbling ourselves before Him, confessing our weakness and our lack of any wisdom equal to these things;

And Whereas it is the especial wish and longing of the people of the United States, in prayer and counsel and all friendliness, to serve the cause of peace;

Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do designate Sunday, the fourth day of October next, a day of prayer and supplication and do request all God-fearing persons to repair on that day to their places of worship there to unite their petitions to Almighty God that, overruling the counsel of men, setting straight the things they can not govern or alter, taking pity on the nations now in the throes of conflict, in His mercy and goodness showing a way where men can see none, He vouchsafe His children healing peace again and restore once more that concord among men and nations without which there can be neither happiness nor true friendship nor any wholesome fruit of toil or thought in the world; praying also to this end that He forgive us our sins, our ignorance of His holy will, our wilfulness and many errors, and lead us in the paths of obedience to places of vision and to thoughts and counsels that purge and make wise.

In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this eighth day of September
in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and
[SEAL] fourteen and of the independence of the United States
of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Panama Canal Zone.]

Whereas, the United States is neutral in the present war and Whereas the United States exercises sovereignty in the land and waters of the Canal Zone and is authorized by its treaty with Panama of February twenty-sixth, nineteen hundred and four, to maintain neutrality in the cities of Panama and Colon, and the harbors adjacent to the said cities:

Now, Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby declare and proclaim the following Rules and Regulations Governing the Use of the Panama Canal by Vessels of Belligerents and the Maintenance of Neutrality by the United States in the Canal Zone, which are in addition to the general "Rules and Regulations for the Operation and Navigation of the Panama Canal and Approaches Thereto, including all Waters under its jurisdiction" put into force by Executive Order of July 9, 1914, and I do bring to the attention of all concerned the Protocol of an Agreement between the United States and the Republic of Panama, signed at Washington, October 10, 1914, which protocol is hereunto annexed.

Rule 1. A vessel of war, for the purposes of these rules, is defined as follows: a public armed vessel, under the command of an officer duly commissioned by the government, whose name appears on the list of officers of the military fleet, and the crew of which are under regular naval discipline, which vessel is qualified by its armament and the character of its personnel to take offensive action against the public or private ships of the enemy.

Rule 2. In order to maintain both the neutrality of the Canal and that of the United States owning and operating it as a government enterprise, the same treatment, except as hereinafter noted, as that given to vessels of war of the belligerents shall be given to every vessel, belligerent or neutral, whether armed or not, that does not fall under the definition of Rule 1, which vessel is employed by a belligerent Power as a transport or fleet auxiliary or in any other way for the direct purpose of prosecuting or aiding hostilities, whether by land or sea; but such treatment shall not be given to a vessel fitted up and used exclusively as a hospital ship.

Rule 3. A vessel of war of a belligerent, or a vessel falling under Rule 2 which is commanded by an officer of the military fleet, shall only be permitted to pass through the Canal after her commanding officer has given written assurance to the Authorities of the Panama Canal that the Rules and Regulations will be faithfully observed.

The authorities of the Panama Canal shall take such steps as may be requisite to insure the observance of the Rules and Regulations by

vessels falling under Rule 2 which are not commanded by an officer of the military fleet.

Rule 4. Vessels of war of a belligerent and vessels falling under Rule 2 shall not revictual nor take any stores in the Canal except so far as may be strictly necessary; and the transit of such vessels through the Canal shall be effected with the least possible delay in accordance with the Canal Regulations in force, and with only such intermission as may result from the necessities of the service.

Prizes shall be in all respects subject to the same Rules as vessels of war of the belligerents.

Rule 5. No vessel of war of a belligerent or vessel falling under Rule 2 shall receive fuel or lubricants while within the territorial waters of the Canal Zone, except on the written authorization of the Canal Authorities, specifying the amount of fuel and lubricants which may be received.

Rule 6. Before issuing any authorization for the receipt of fuel and lubricants by any vessel of war of a belligerent or vessel falling under Rule 2, the Canal Authorities shall obtain a written declaration, duly signed by the officer commanding such vessel, stating the amount of fuel and lubricants already on board.

Rule 7. Supplies will not be furnished by the Government of the United States, either directly, or indirectly through the intervention of a corporation, or otherwise, to vessels of war of a belligerent or vessels falling under Rule 2. If furnished by private contractors, or if taken from vessels under the control of a belligerent, fuel and lubricants may be taken on board vessels of war of a belligerent or vessels falling under Rule 2 only upon permission of the Canal Authorities, and then only in such amounts as will enable them, with the fuel and lubricants already on board, to reach the nearest accessible port, not an enemy port, at which they can obtain supplies necessary for the continuation of the voyage. The amounts of fuel and lubricants so received will be deducted from the amounts otherwise allowed in the ports under the jurisdiction of the United States during any time within a period of three months thereafter. Provisions furnished by contractors may be supplied only upon permission of the Canal Authorities, and then only in amount sufficient to bring up their supplies to the peace standard.

Rule 8. No belligerent shall embark or disembark troops, munitions of war, or warlike materials in the Canal, except in case of necessity due to accidental hindrance of the transit. In such cases the Canal Authorities shall be the judge of the necessity, and the transit shall be resumed with all possible dispatch.

Rule 9. Vessels of war of a belligerent and vessels falling under Rule 2 shall not remain in the territorial waters of the Canal Zone under the jurisdiction of the United States longer than twenty-four

hours at any one time, except in case of distress; and in such case, shall depart as soon as possible; but a vessel of war of one belligerent shall not depart within twenty-four hours from the departure of a vessel of an opposing belligerent.

The twenty-four hours of this rule shall be construed to be twenty-four hours in addition to the time necessarily occupied in passing through the Canal.

Rule 10. In the exercise of the exclusive right of the United States to provide for the regulation and management of the Canal, and in order to ensure that the Canal shall be kept free and open on terms of entire equality to vessels of commerce and of war, there shall not be, except by special arrangement, at any one time a greater number of vessels of war of any one nation, including those of the allies of a belligerent nation, than three in either terminal port and its adjacent terminal waters, or than three in transit through the Canal; nor shall the total number of such vessels, at any one time, exceed six in all the territorial waters of the Canal Zone under the jurisdiction of the United States.

Rule 11. When vessels of war or vessels falling under Rule 2, belonging to or employed by opposing belligerents, are present simultaneously in the waters of the Canal Zone, a period of not less than twenty-four hours must elapse between the departure of the vessel belonging to or employed by one belligerent and the departure of the vessel belonging to or employed by his adversary.

The order of departure is determined by order of arrival, unless the vessel which arrived first is so circumstanced that an extension of her stay is permissible.

A vessel of war of a belligerent or vessel falling under Rule 2 may not leave the waters of the Canal Zone until twenty-four hours after the departure of a private vessel flying the flag of the adversary.

Rule 12. A vessel of war of a belligerent or vessel falling under Rule 2 which has left the waters of the Canal Zone, whether she has passed through the Canal or not, shall, if she returns within a period of one week after her departure, lose all privileges of precedence in departure from the Canal Zone, or in passage through the Canal, over vessels flying the flag of her adversaries which may enter those waters after her return and before the expiration of one week subsequent to her previous departure. In any such case the time of departure of a vessel which has so returned shall be fixed by the Canal Authorities, who may in so doing consider the wishes of the commander of a public vessel or of the master of a private vessel of the adversary of the returned vessel, which adversary's vessel is then present within the waters of the Canal Zone.

Rule 13. The repair facilities and docks belonging to the United States and administered by the Canal Authorities shall not be used by a

vessel of war of a belligerent, or vessels falling under Rule 2, except when necessary in case of actual distress, and then only upon the order of the Canal Authorities, and only to the degree necessary to render the vessel sea-worthy. Any work authorized shall be done with the least possible delay.

Rule 14. The radio installation of any vessel of a belligerent Power, public or private, or of any vessel falling under Rule 2, shall be used only in connection with Canal business to the exclusion of all other business while within the waters of the Canal Zone, including the waters of Colon and Panama Harbors.

Rule 15. Air craft of a belligerent Power, public or private, are forbidden to descend or arise within the jurisdiction of the United States at the Canal Zone, or to pass through the air spaces above the lands and waters within said jurisdiction.

Rule 16. For the purpose of these rules the Canal Zone includes the cities of Panama and Colon and the harbors adjacent to the said cities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this thirteenth day of November
in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and
[SEAL] fourteen and of the independence of the United States the
one hundred and thirty-ninth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

Protocol of an agreement concluded between Honorable Robert Lansing, Acting Secretary of State of the United States, and Don Eusebio A. Morales, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Panama, signed the tenth day of October, 1914.

The undersigned, the Acting Secretary of State of the United States of America and the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Panama, in view of the close association of the interests of their respective Governments on the Isthmus of Panama, and to the end that these interests may be conserved and that, when a state of war exists, the neutral obligations of both Governments as neutrals may be maintained, after having conferred on the subject and being duly empowered by their respective Governments, have agreed:

That hospitality extended in the waters of the Republic of Panama to a belligerent vessel of war or a vessel belligerent or neutral, whether armed or not, which is employed by a belligerent power as a transport or fleet auxiliary or in any other way for the direct purpose of prosecuting or aiding hostilities, whether by land or sea, shall serve to deprive such vessel of like hospitality in the Panama Canal Zone for a period of three months, and *vice versa*.

In testimony whereof, the undersigned have signed and sealed the present Protocol in the city of Washington, this tenth day of October, 1914.

ROBERT LANSING	[L. S.]
EUSEBIO A. MORALES	[L. S.]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

[Thanksgiving—1914.]

It has long been the honoured custom of our people to turn in the fruitful autumn of the year in praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for his many blessings and mercies to us as a nation. The year that is now drawing to a close since we last observed our day of national thanksgiving has been, while a year of discipline because of the mighty forces of war and of change which have disturbed the world, also a year of special blessing for us.

It has been vouchsafed to us to remain at peace, with honour, and in some part to succour the suffering and supply the needs of those who are in want. We have been privileged by our own peace and self-control in some degree to steady the counsels and shape the hopes and purposes of a day of fear and distress. Our people have looked upon their own life as a nation with a deeper comprehension, a fuller realization of their responsibilities as well as of their blessings, and a keener sense of the moral and practical significance of what their part among the nations of the world may come to be.

The hurtful effects of foreign war in their own industrial and commercial affairs have made them feel the more fully and see the more clearly their mutual interdependence upon one another and has stirred them to a helpful cooperation such as they have seldom practiced before. They have been quickened by a great moral stimulation. Their unmistakable ardour for peace, their earnest pity and disinterested sympathy for those who are suffering, their readiness to help and to think of the needs of others, has revealed them to themselves as well as to the world.

Our crops will feed all who need food; the self-possession of our people amidst the most serious anxieties and difficulties and the steadiness and resourcefulness of our business men will serve other nations as well as our own.

The business of the country has been supplied with new instrumentalities and the commerce of the world with new channels of trade and intercourse. The Panama Canal has been opened to the commerce of the nations. The two continents of America have been bound in closer ties of friendship. New instrumentalities of international trade have been created which will be also new instrumentalities of acquaintance, intercourse, and mutual service. Never before have the people of the United States been so situated for their own advantage or the advantage of their neighbours or so equipped to serve themselves and mankind.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United

States of America, do hereby designate Thursday the twenty-sixth of November next as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, and invite the people throughout the land to cease from their wonted occupations and in their several homes and places of worship render thanks to Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-eighth day of October
in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and
[SEAL.] fourteen, and of the Independence of the United States of
America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Acting Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

[Dispersion of Unlawful Assemblages in Arkansas.]

Whereas by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations and assemblages of persons, it has become impracticable in the judgment of the President to enforce by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings the laws of the United States within the State of Arkansas and especially within the Western Federal District and in the neighborhood of the towns of Hartford, Midland and Fort Smith in said district;

And whereas for the purpose of enforcing the faithful execution of the laws of the United States and protecting property in the charge of the courts of the United States, the President deems it necessary to employ a part of the military forces of the United States, in pursuance of the statute in that case made and provided;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all persons who may be or come within the state, district or towns aforesaid against doing, countenancing, encouraging or taking any part in such unlawful obstructions, combinations and assemblages, and I hereby warn all persons in any manner connected therewith to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before twelve o'clock noon of the sixth day of November instant.

Those who disregard this warning and persist in taking part with a riotous mob in forceably resisting and obstructing the execution of the laws of the United States or interfering with the functions of the Government or destroying or attempting to destroy property in the custody of the courts of the United States or under its directions can not be regarded otherwise than as public enemies.

Troops employed against such combinations and assemblages of persons will act with all the moderation and forbearance consistent with the accomplishment of their duty in the premises; but all citizens must realize that, if they mingle with or become a part of such riotous assemblages, there will be no opportunity for discrimination in the methods employed in dealing with such assemblages. The only safe course, therefore, for those not intentionally participating in such unlawful procedure is to abide at their homes or, at least, not to go or remain in the neighborhood of such riotous assemblages.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this third day of November in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fourteen, and of [SEAL.] the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Acting Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

[Neutrality—Great Britain and Turkey.]

Whereas a state of war unhappily exists between Great Britain and Turkey; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

Done at the City of Washington this sixth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen [SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Acting Secretary of State.*

SECOND ANNUAL ADDRESS

[Delivered at a Joint Session of the two Houses of Congress, December 8, 1914.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

The session upon which you are now entering will be the closing session of the Sixty-third Congress, a Congress, I venture to say, which will long be remembered for the great body of thoughtful and constructive work which it has done, in loyal response to the thought and needs of the country. I should like in this address to review the notable record and try to make adequate assessment of it; but no doubt we stand too near the work that has been done and are ourselves too much part of it to play the part of historians toward it.

Our program of legislation with regard to the regulation of business is now virtually complete. It has been put forth, as we intended, as a whole, and leaves no conjecture as to what is to follow. The road at last lies clear and firm before business. It is a road which it can travel without fear or embarrassment. It is the road to ungrudged, unclouded success. In it every honest man, every man who believes that the public interest is part of his own interest, may walk with perfect confidence.

Moreover, our thoughts are now more of the future than of the past. While we have worked at our tasks of peace the circumstances of the whole age have been altered by war. What we have done for our own land and our own people we did with the best that was in us, whether of character or of intelligence, with sober enthusiasm and a confidence in the principles upon which we were acting which sustained us at every step of the difficult undertaking; but it is done. It has passed from our hands. It is now an established part of the legislation of the country. Its usefulness, its effects will disclose themselves in experience. What chiefly strikes us now, as we look about us during these closing days of a year which will be forever memorable in the history of the world, is that we face new tasks, have been facing them these six months, must face them in the months to come,—face them without partisan feeling, like men who have forgotten everything but a common duty and the fact that we are representatives of a great people whose thought is not of us but of what America owes to herself and to all mankind in such circumstances as these upon which we look amazed and anxious.

War has interrupted the means of trade not only but also the processes of production. In Europe it is destroying men and resources wholesale and upon a scale unprecedented and appalling. There is reason to fear that the time is near, if it be not already at hand, when several of the countries of Europe will find it difficult to do for their people what they have hitherto been always easily

able to do,—many essential and fundamental things. At any rate, they will need our help and our manifold services as they have never needed them before; and we should be ready, more fit and ready than we have ever been.

It is of equal consequence that the nations whom Europe has usually supplied with innumerable articles of manufacture and commerce of which they are in constant need and without which their economic development halts and stands still can now get only a small part of what they formerly imported and eagerly look to us to supply their all but empty markets. This is particularly true of our own neighbors, the States, great and small, of Central and South America. Their lines of trade have hitherto run chiefly athwart the seas, not to our ports but to the ports of Great Britain and of the older continent of Europe. I do not stop to inquire why, or to make any comment on probable causes. What interests us just now is not the explanation but the fact, and our duty and opportunity in the presence of it. Here are markets which we must supply, and we must find the means of action. The United States, this great people for whom we speak and act, should be ready, as never before, to serve itself and to serve mankind; ready with its resources, its energies, its forces of production, and its means of distribution.

It is a very practical matter, a matter of ways and means. We have the resources, but are we fully ready to use them? And, if we can make ready what we have, have we the means at hand to distribute it? We are not fully ready; neither have we the means of distribution. We are willing, but we are not fully able. We have the wish to serve and to serve greatly, generously; but we are not prepared as we should be. We are not ready to mobilize our resources at once. We are not prepared to use them immediately and at their best, without delay and without waste.

To speak plainly, we have grossly erred in the way in which we have stunted and hindered the development of our merchant marine. And now, when we need ships, we have not got them. We have year after year debated, without end or conclusion, the best policy to pursue with regard to the use of the ores and forests and water powers of our national domain in the rich States of the West, when we should have acted; and they are still locked up. The key is still turned upon them, the door shut fast at which thousands of vigorous men, full of initiative, knock clamorously for admittance. The water power of our navigable streams outside the national domain also, even in the eastern States, where we have worked and planned for generations, is still not used as it might be, because we will and we won't; because the laws we have made do not intelligently balance encouragement against restraint. We withhold by regulation.

I have come to ask you to remedy and correct these mistakes and

omissions, even at this short session of a Congress which would certainly seem to have done all the work that could reasonably be expected of it. The time and the circumstances are extraordinary, and so must our efforts be also.

Fortunately, two great measures, finely conceived, the one to unlock, with proper safeguards, the resources of the national domain, the other to encourage the use of the navigable waters outside that domain for the generation of power, have already passed the House of Representatives and are ready for immediate consideration and action by the Senate. With the deepest earnestness I urge their prompt passage. In them both we turn our backs upon hesitation and makeshift and formulate a genuine policy of use and conservation, in the best sense of those words. We owe the one measure not only to the people of that great western country for whose free and systematic development, as it seems to me, our legislation has done so little, but also to the people of the Nation as a whole; and we as clearly owe the other fulfillment of our repeated promises that the water power of the country should in fact as well as in name be put at the disposal of great industries which can make economical and profitable use of it, the rights of the public being adequately guarded the while, and monopoly in the use prevented. To have begun such measures and not completed them would indeed mar the record of this great Congress very seriously. I hope and confidently believe that they will be completed.

And there is another great piece of legislation which awaits and should receive the sanction of the Senate: I mean the bill which gives a larger measure of self-government to the people of the Philippines. How better, in this time of anxious questioning and perplexed policy, could we show our confidence in the principles of liberty, as the source as well as the expression of life, how better could we demonstrate our own self-possession and steadfastness in the courses of justice and disinterestedness than by thus going calmly forward to fulfill our promises to a dependent people, who will now look more anxiously than ever to see whether we have indeed the liberality, the unselfishness, the courage, the faith we have boasted and professed. I can not believe that the Senate will let this great measure of constructive justice await the action of another Congress. Its passage would nobly crown the record of these two years of memorable labor.

But I think that you will agree with me that this does not complete the toll of our duty. How are we to carry our goods to the empty markets of which I have spoken if we have not the ships? How are we to build up a great trade if we have not the certain and constant means of transportation upon which all profitable and useful commerce depends? And how are we to get the ships if we wait

for the trade to develop without them? To correct the many mistakes by which we have discouraged and all but destroyed the merchant marine of the country, to retrace the steps by which we have, it seems almost deliberately, withdrawn our flag from the seas, except where, here and there, a ship of war is bidden carry it or some wandering yacht displays it, would take a long time and involve many detailed items of legislation, and the trade which we ought immediately to handle would disappear or find other channels while we debated the items.

The case is not unlike that which confronted us when our own continent was to be opened up to settlement and industry, and we needed long lines of railway, extended means of transportation prepared beforehand, if development was not to lag intolerably and wait interminably. We lavishly subsidized the building of transcontinental railroads. We look back upon that with regret now, because the subsidies led to many scandals of which we are ashamed; but we know that the railroads had to be built, and if we had it to do over again we should of course build them, but in another way. Therefore I propose another way of providing the means of transportation, which must precede, not tardily follow, the development of our trade with our neighbor states of America. It may seem a reversal of the natural order of things, but it is true, that the routes of trade must be actually opened—by many ships and regular sailings and moderate charges—before streams of merchandise will flow freely and profitably through them.

Hence the pending shipping bill, discussed at the last session but as yet passed by neither House. In my judgment such legislation is imperatively needed and can not wisely be postponed. The Government must open these gates of trade, and open them wide; open them before it is altogether profitable to open them, or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. It is not a question of the Government monopolizing the field. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable; and then, when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital, and engage it in abundance, the Government ought to withdraw. I very earnestly hope that the Congress will be of this opinion, and that both Houses will adopt this exceedingly important bill.

The great subject of rural credits still remains to be dealt with, and it is a matter of deep regret that the difficulties of the subject have seemed to render it impossible to complete a bill for passage at this session. But it can not be perfected yet, and therefore there are no other constructive measures the necessity for which I will at this time call your attention to; but I would be negligent of a very

manifest duty were I not to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the proposed convention for safety at sea awaits its confirmation and that the limit fixed in the convention itself for its acceptance is the last day of the present month. The conference in which this convention originated was called by the United States; the representatives of the United States played a very influential part indeed in framing the provisions of the proposed convention; and those provisions are in themselves for the most part admirable. It would hardly be consistent with the part we have played in the whole matter to let it drop and go by the board as if forgotten and neglected. It was ratified in May by the German Government and in August by the Parliament of Great Britain. It marks a most hopeful and decided advance in international civilization. We should show our earnest good faith in a great matter by adding our own acceptance of it.

There is another matter of which I must make special mention, if I am to discharge my conscience, lest it should escape your attention. It may seem a very small thing. It affects only a single item of appropriation. But many human lives and many great enterprises hang upon it. It is the matter of making adequate provision for the survey and charting of our coasts. It is immediately pressing and exigent in connection with the immense coast line of Alaska, a coast line greater than that of the United States themselves, though it is also very important indeed with regard to the older coasts of the continent. We can not use our great Alaskan domain, ships will not ply thither, if those coasts and their many hidden dangers are not thoroughly surveyed and charted. The work is incomplete at almost every point. Ships and lives have been lost in threading what were supposed to be well-known main channels. We have not provided adequate vessels or adequate machinery for the survey and charting. We have used old vessels that were not big enough or strong enough and which were so nearly unseaworthy that our inspectors would not have allowed private owners to send them to sea. This is a matter which, as I have said, seems small, but is in reality very great. Its importance has only to be looked into to be appreciated.

Before I close may I say a few words upon two topics, much discussed out of doors, upon which it is highly important that our judgments should be clear, definite, and steadfast?

One of these is economy in government expenditures. The duty of economy is not debatable. It is manifest and imperative. In the appropriations we pass we are spending the money of the great people whose servants we are,—not our own. We are trustees and responsible stewards in the spending. The only thing debatable and upon which we should be careful to make our thought and purpose clear is the kind of economy demanded of us. I assert with the greatest confidence that the people of the United States are not jealous of

the amount their Government costs if they are sure that they get what they need and desire for the outlay, that the money is being spent for objects of which they approve, and that it is being applied with good business-sense and management.

Governments grow, piecemeal, both in their tasks and in the means by which those tasks are to be performed, and very few Governments are organized, I venture to say, as wise and experienced business men would organize them if they had a clean sheet of paper to write upon. Certainly the Government of the United States is not. I think that it is generally agreed that there should be a systematic reorganization and reassembling of its parts so as to secure greater efficiency and effect considerable savings in expense. But the amount of money saved in that way would, I believe, though no doubt considerable in itself, running, it may be, into the millions, be relatively small,—small, I mean, in proportion to the total necessary outlays of the Government. It would be thoroughly worth effecting, as every saving would, great or small. Our duty is not altered by the scale of the saving. But my point is that the people of the United States do not wish to curtail the activities of this Government; they wish, rather, to enlarge them; and with every enlargement, with the mere growth, indeed, of the country itself, there must come, of course, the inevitable increase of expense. The sort of economy we ought to practice may be effected, and ought to be effected, by a careful study and assessment of the tasks to be performed; and the money spent ought to be made to yield the best possible returns in efficiency and achievement. And, like good stewards, we should so account for every dollar of our appropriations as to make it perfectly evident what it was spent for and in what way it was spent.

It is not expenditure but extravagance that we should fear being criticized for; not paying for the legitimate enterprise and undertakings of a great Government whose people command what it should do, but adding what will benefit only a few or pouring money out for what need not have been undertaken at all or might have been postponed or better and more economically conceived and carried out. The Nation is not niggardly; it is very generous. It will chide us only if we forget for whom we pay money out and whose money it is we pay. These are large and general standards, but they are not very difficult of application to particular cases.

The other topic I shall take leave to mention goes deeper into the principles of our national life and policy. It is the subject of national defense.

It can not be discussed without first answering some very searching questions. It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation

of men trained to arms? Of course we are not ready to do that; and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that it is suggested we should be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in times of peace.

Allow me to speak with great plainness and directness upon this great matter and to avow my convictions with deep earnestness. I have tried to know what America is, what her people think, what they are, what they most cherish and hold dear. I hope that some of their finer passions are in my own heart,—some of the great conceptions and desires which gave birth to this Government and which have made the voice of this people a voice of peace and hope and liberty among the peoples of the world, and that, speaking my own thoughts, I shall, at least in part, speak theirs also, however faintly and inadequately, upon this vital matter.

We are at peace with all the world. No one who speaks counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities can say that there is reason to fear that from any quarter our independence or the integrity of our territory is threatened. Dread of the power of any other nation we are incapable of. We are not jealous of rivalry in the fields of commerce or of any other peaceful achievement. We mean to live our own lives as we will; but we mean also to let live. We are, indeed, a true friend to all the nations of the world, because we threaten none, covet the possessions of none, desire the overthrow of none. Our friendship can be accepted and is accepted without reservation, because it is offered in a spirit and for a purpose which no one need ever question or suspect. Therein lies our greatness. We are the champions of peace and of concord. And we should be very jealous of this distinction which we have sought to earn. Just now we should be particularly jealous of it because it is our dearest present hope that this character and reputation may presently, in God's providence, bring us an opportunity such as has seldom been vouchsafed any nation, the opportunity to counsel and obtain peace in the world and reconciliation and a healing settlement of many a matter that has cooled and interrupted the friendship of nations. This is the time above all others when we should wish and resolve to keep our strength by self-possession, our influence by preserving our ancient principles of action.

From the first we have had a clear and settled policy with regard to military establishments. We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army. If asked, Are you ready to defend yourselves? we reply, Most assuredly, to the utmost; and yet we shall not turn

America into a military camp. We will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves. There is another sort of energy in us. It will know how to declare itself and make itself effective should occasion arise. And especially when half the world is on fire we shall be careful to make our moral insurance against the spread of the conflagration very definite and certain and adequate indeed.

Let us remind ourselves, therefore, of the only thing we can do or will do. We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms, the rudiments of drill and maneuver, and the maintenance and sanitation of camps. We should encourage such training and make it a means of discipline which our young men will learn to value. It is right that we should provide it not only, but that we should make it as attractive as possible, and so induce our young men to undergo it at such times as they can command a little freedom and can seek the physical development they need, for mere health's sake, if for nothing more. Every means by which such things can be stimulated is legitimate, and such a method smacks of true American ideas. It is right, too, that the National Guard of the States should be developed and strengthened by every means which is not inconsistent with our obligations to our own people or with the established policy of our Government. And this, also, not because the time or occasion specially calls for such measures, but because it should be our constant policy to make these provisions for our national peace and safety.

More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our polity. More than this, proposed at this time, permit me to say, would mean merely that we had lost our self-possession, that we had been thrown off our balance by a war with which we have nothing to do, whose causes can not touch us, whose very existence affords us opportunities of friendship and disinterested service which should make us ashamed of any thought of hostility or fearful preparation for trouble. This is assuredly the opportunity for which a people and a government like ours were raised up, the opportunity not only to speak but actually to embody and exemplify the counsels of peace and amity and the lasting concord which is based on justice and fair and generous dealing.

A powerful navy we have always regarded as our proper and natural means of defense; and it has always been of defense that we have thought, never of aggression or of conquest. But who shall

tell us now what sort of navy to build? We shall take leave to be strong upon the seas, in the future as in the past; and there will be no thought of offense or of provocation in that. Our ships are our natural bulwarks. When will the experts tell us just what kind we should construct—and when will they be right for ten years together, if the relative efficiency of craft of different kinds and uses continues to change as we have seen it change under our very eyes in these last few months?

But I turn away from the subject. It is not new. There is no new need to discuss it. We shall not alter our attitude toward it because some amongst us are nervous and excited. We shall easily and sensibly agree upon a policy of defense. The question has not changed its aspects because the times are not normal. Our policy will not be for an occasion. It will be conceived as a permanent and settled thing, which we will pursue at all seasons, without haste and after a fashion perfectly consistent with the peace of the world, the abiding friendship of states, and the unhampered freedom of all with whom we deal. Let there be no misconception. The country has been misinformed. We have not been negligent of national defense. We are not unmindful of the great responsibility resting upon us. We shall learn and profit by the lesson of every experience and every new circumstance; and what is needed will be adequately done.

I close, as I began, by reminding you of the great tasks and duties of peace which challenge our best powers and invite us to build what will last, the tasks to which we can address ourselves now and at all times with free-hearted zest and with all the finest gifts of constructive wisdom we possess. To develop our life and our resources; to supply our own people, and the people of the world as their need arises, from the abundant plenty of our fields and our marts of trade; to enrich the commerce of our own States and of the world with the products of our mines, our farms, and our factories, with the creations of our thought and the fruits of our character,—this is what will hold our attention and our enthusiasm steadily, now and in the years to come, as we strive to show in our life as a nation what liberty and the inspirations of an emancipated spirit may do for men and for societies, for individuals, for states, and for mankind.

Letter to Attorney-General McReynolds

[Directing dissolution proceedings against the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company and criminal action against directors.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 21, 1914.*

MY DEAR MR. ATTORNEY-GENERAL:

I have your letter of to-day, enclosing a copy of your letter of July 9, to Mr. J. H. Hustis, president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company which, together, disclose the failure

of the directors of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company to comply with the terms of settlement proposed by them and accepted by us in the matter of their railroad holdings.

Their final decision in this matter causes me the deepest surprise and regret. Their failure upon so slight a pretext to carry out an agreement deliberately and solemnly entered into, and which was manifestly in the common interest, is to me inexplicable and entirely without justification.

You have been kind enough to keep me informed of every step the Department took in this matter and the action of the Department has, throughout, met with my entire approval. It was just, reasonable and efficient. It should have resulted in avoiding what must now be done.

In the circumstances the course you propose is the only one the Government can pursue. I therefore request and direct that a proceeding in equity be filed, seeking the dissolution of unlawful monopolization of transportation in New England territory now sought to be maintained by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, and that the criminal aspects of the case be laid before a Grand Jury.

With my regard, sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

To the Hon. J. C. McReynolds, Attorney-General.

ADDRESSES

[Delivered at Indianapolis, Ind., January 8, 1915.]

GOVERNOR RALSTON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

You have given me a most royal welcome, for which I thank you from the bottom of my heart. It is rather lonely living in Washington. I have been confined for two years at hard labor, and even now I feel that I am simply out on parole. You notice that one of the most distinguished members of the United States Senate is here to see that I go back. And yet, with sincere apologies to the Senate and House of Representatives, I want to say that I draw more inspiration from you than I do from them. They, like myself, are only servants of the people of the United States. Our sinews consist in your sympathy and support, and our renewal comes from contact with you and with the strong movements of public opinion in the country.

That is the reason why I for one would prefer that our thoughts should not too often cross the ocean, but should center themselves upon the policies and duties of the United States. If we think rightly of the United States, when the time comes we shall know how this country can serve the world. I will borrow a very interesting phrase from a distinguished gentleman of my acquaintance and beg that you will "keep your moral powder dry."

But I have come here on Jackson Day. If there are Republicans present, I hope they will feel the compelling influences of such a day. There was nothing mild about Andrew Jackson; that is the reason I spoke of the "compelling influences" of the day. Andrew Jackson was a forthright man who believed everything he did believe in fighting earnest. And really, ladies and gentlemen, in public life that is the only sort of man worth thinking about for a moment. If I was not ready to fight for everything I believe in, I would think it my duty to go back and take a back seat. I like, therefore, to breathe the air of Jackson Day. I like to be reminded of the old militant hosts of Democracy which I believe have come to life again in our time. The United States had almost forgotten that it must keep its fighting ardor in behalf of mankind when Andrew Jackson became President; and you will notice that whenever the United States forgets its ardor for mankind it is necessary that a Democrat should be elected President.

The trouble with the Republican party is that it has not had a new idea for thirty years. I am not speaking as a politician; I am speaking as an historian. I have looked for new ideas in the records and I have not found any proceeding from the Republican ranks. They have had leaders from time to time who suggested new ideas, but they never did anything to carry them out. I suppose there was no harm in their talking, provided they could not do anything. Therefore, when it was necessary to say that we had talked about things long enough which it was necessary to do, and the time had come to do them, it was indispensable that a Democrat should be elected President.

I would not speak with disrespect of the Republican party. I always speak with great respect of the past. The past was necessary to the present, and was a sure prediction of the future. The Republican party is still a covert and refuge for those who are afraid, for those who want to consult their grandfathers about everything. You will notice that most of the advice taken by the Republican party is taken from gentlemen old enough to be grandfathers, and that when they claim that a reaction has taken place, they react to the reelection of the oldest members of their party. They will not trust the youngsters. They are afraid the youngsters may have something up their sleeve.

You will see, therefore, that I have come to you in the spirit of Jackson Day. I got very tired staying in Washington and saying sweet things. I wanted to come out and get in contact with you once more and say what I really thought.

My friends, what I particularly want you to observe is this, that politics in this country does not depend any longer upon the regular members of either party. There are not enough regular Republicans in this country to take and hold national power; and I must immediately add there are not enough regular Democrats in this country

to do it, either. This country is guided and its policy is determined by the independent voter; and I have come to ask you how we can best prove to the independent voter that the instrument he needs is the Democratic party, and that it would be hopeless for him to attempt to use the Republican party. I do not have to prove it; I admit it.

What seems to me perfectly evident is this: That if you made a rough reckoning, you would have to admit that only about one-third of the Republican party is progressive; and you would also have to admit that about two-thirds of the Democratic party is progressive. Therefore, the independent progressive voter finds a great deal more company in the Democratic ranks than in the Republican ranks. I say a great deal more, because there are Democrats who are sitting on the breeching strap; there are Democrats who are holding back; there are Democrats who are nervous. I dare say they were born with that temperament. And I respect the conservative temper. I claim to be an animated conservative myself, because being a conservative I understand to mean being a man not only who preserves what is best in the Nation but who sees that in order to preserve it you dare not stand still but must move forward. The virtue of America is not statical; it is dynamic. All the forces of America are forces in action or else they are forces of inertia.

What I want to point out to you—and I believe that this is what the whole country is beginning to perceive—is this, that there is a larger body of men in the regular ranks of the Democratic party who believe in the progressive policies of our day and mean to see them carried forward and perpetuated than there is in the ranks of the Republican party. How can it be otherwise, gentlemen? The Democratic party, and only the Democratic party, has carried out the policies which the progressive people of this country have desired. There is not a single great act of this present great Congress which has not been carried out in obedience to the public opinion of America; and the public opinion of America is not going to permit any body of men to go backward with regard to these great matters.

Let me instance a single thing: I want to ask the business men here present if this is not the first January in their recollection that did not bring a money stringency for the time being, because of the necessity of paying out great sums of money by way of dividends and the other settlements which come at the first of the year? I have asked the bankers if that happened this year, and they say, "No; it did not happen; it could not happen under the Federal Reserve Act." We have emancipated the credits of this country; and is there anybody here who will doubt that the other policies that have given guaranty to this country that there will be free competition are policies which this country will never allow to be reversed? I have taken a long time, ladies and gentlemen, to select the Federal Trade Commission, because I wanted

to choose men and be sure that I had chosen men who would be really serviceable to the business men of this country, great as well as small, the rank and the file. These things have been done and will never be undone. They were talked about and talked about with futility until a Democratic Congress attempted and achieved them.

But the Democratic party is not to suppose that it is done with the business. The Democratic party is still on trial. The Democratic party still has to prove to the independent voters of the country not only that it believes in these things, but that it will continue to work along these lines and that it will not allow any enemy of these things to break its ranks. This country is not going to use any party that can not do continuous and consistent teamwork. If any group of men should dare to break the solidarity of the Democratic team for any purpose or from any motive, theirs will be a most unenviable notoriety and a responsibility which will bring deep bitterness to them. The only party that is serviceable to a nation is a party that can hold absolutely together and march with the discipline and with the zest of a conquering host.

I am not saying these things because I doubt that the Democratic party will be able to do this, but because I believe that as leader for the time being of that party I can promise the country that it will do these things. I know my colleagues at Washington; I know their spirit and their purpose; and I know that they have the same emotion, the same high emotion of public service, that I hope I have.

I want at this juncture to pay my tribute of respect and of affectionate admiration for the two great Democratic Senators from the State of Indiana. I have never had to lie awake nights wondering what they were going to do. And the country is not going to trouble itself, ladies and gentlemen, to lie awake nights and wonder what men are going to do. If they have to do that, they will choose other men. Teamwork all the time is what they are going to demand of us, and that is our individual as well as our collective responsibility. That is what Jackson stands for. If a man will not play with the team, then he does not belong to the team. You see, I have spent a large part of my life in college and I know what a team means when I see it; and I know what the captain of a team must have if he is going to win. So it is no idle figure of speech with me.

Now, what is their duty? You say, "Hasn't this Congress carried out a great program?" Yes, it has carried out a great program. It has had the most remarkable record that any Congress since the Civil War has had; and I say since the Civil War because I have not had time to think about those before the Civil War. But we are living at an extraordinary moment. The world has never been in the condition that it is in now, my friends. Half the world is on fire. Only America

among the great powers of the world is free to govern her own life; and all the world is looking to America to serve its economic need. And while this is happening what is going on?

Do you know, gentlemen, that the ocean freight rates have gone up in some instances to ten times their ordinary figure? and that the farmers of the United States, those who raise grain and those who raise cotton—these things that are absolutely necessary to the world as well as to ourselves—can not get their due profit out of the great prices that they are willing to pay for these things on the other side of the sea, because practically the whole profit is eaten up by the extortionate charges for ocean carriage? In the midst of this the Democrats propose a temporary measure of relief in a shipping bill. The merchants and the farmers of this country must have ships to carry their goods. Just at the present moment there is no other way of getting them than through the instrumentality that is suggested in the shipping bill. I hear it said in Washington on all hands that the Republicans in the United States Senate mean to talk enough to make the passage of that bill impossible. These self-styled friends of business, these men who say the Democratic party does not know what to do for business, are saying that the Democrats shall do nothing for business. I challenge them to show their right to stand in the way of the release of American products to the rest of the world! Who commissioned them—a minority, a lessening minority? (For they will be in a greater minority in the next Senate than in this.) You know it is the peculiarity of that great body that it has rules of procedure which make it possible for a minority to defy the Nation; and these gentlemen are now seeking to defy the Nation and prevent the release of American products to the suffering world which needs them more than it ever needed them before. Their credentials as friends of business and friends of America will be badly discredited if they succeed. If I were speaking from a selfish, partisan point of view, I could wish nothing better than that they should show their true colors as partisans and succeed. But I am not quite so malevolent as that. Some of them are misguided; some of them are blind; most of them are ignorant. I would rather pray for them than abuse them. The great voice of America ought to make them understand what they are said to be attempting now really means. I have to say “are said to be attempting,” because they do not come and tell me that they are attempting them. I do not know why. I would express my opinion of them in parliamentary language, but I would express it, I hope, no less plainly because couched in the terms of courtesy. This country is bursting its jacket, and they are seeing to it that the jacket is not only kept tight but is riveted with steel.

The Democratic party does know how to serve business in this

country, and its future program is a program of service. We have cleared the decks. We have laid the lines now upon which business that was to do the country harm shall be stopped and an economic control which was intolerable shall be broken up. We have emancipated America, but America must do something with her freedom. There are great bills pending in the United States Senate just now that have been passed by the House of Representatives, which are intended as constructive measures in behalf of business—one great measure which will make available the enormous water powers of this country for the industry of it; another bill which will unlock the resources of the public domain which the Republicans, desiring to save, locked up so that nobody could use them.

The reason I say the Republicans have not had a new idea in thirty years is that they have not known how to do anything except sit on the lid. If you can release the steam so that it will drive great industries, it is not necessary to sit on the lid. What we are trying to do in the great conservation bill is to carry out for the first time in the history of the United States a system by which the great resources of this country can be used instead of being set aside so that no man can get at them. I shall watch with a great deal of interest what the self-styled friends of business try to do to those bills. Do not misunderstand me. There are some men on that side of the Chamber who understand the value of these things and are standing valiantly by them, but they are a small minority. The majority that is standing by them is on our side of the Chamber, and they are the friends of America.

But there are other things which we have to do. Sometimes when I look abroad, my friends, and see the great mass of struggling humanity on this continent, it goes very much to my heart to see how many men are at a disadvantage and are without guides and helpers. Don't you think it would be a pretty good idea for the Democratic party to undertake a systematic method of helping the workingmen of America? There is one very simple way in which they can help the workingmen. If you were simply to establish a great Federal employment bureau, it would do a vast deal. By the Federal agencies which spread over this country men could be directed to those parts of the country, to those undertakings, to those tasks where they could find profitable employment. The labor of this country needs to be guided from opportunity to opportunity. We proved it the other day. We were told that in two States of the Union 30,000 men were needed to gather the crops. We suggested in a Cabinet meeting that the Department of Labor should have printed information about this in such form that it could be posted up in the post offices all over the United States, and that the Department of Labor should get in touch with the labor departments of the States, so that notice could go out from them, and their co-

operation obtained. What was the result? Those 30,000 men were found and were sent to the places where they got profitable employment. I do not know any one thing that has happened in my administration that made me feel happier than that—that the job and the man had been brought together. It will not cost a great deal of money and it will do a great deal of service if the United States were to undertake to do such things systematically and all the year round; and I for my part hope that it will do that. If I were writing an additional plank for a Democratic platform, I would put that in.

There is another thing that needs very much to be done. I am not one of those who doubt either the industry or the learning or the integrity of the courts of the United States, but I do know that they have a very antiquated way of doing business. I do know that the United States in its judicial procedure is many decades behind every other civilized Government in the world, and I say that it is an immediate and an imperative call upon us to rectify that, because the speediness of justice, the inexpensiveness of justice, the ready access to justice, is the greater part of justice itself. If you have to be rich to get justice, because of the cost of the very process itself, then there is no justice at all. So I say this is another direction in which we ought to be very quick to see the signs of the times and to help those who need to be helped.

Then there is something else. The Democrats have heard the Republicans talking about the scientific way in which to handle a tariff, though the Republicans have never given any exhibition of a knowledge of how to handle it scientifically. If it is scientific to put additional profits into the hands of those who are already getting the greater part of the profits, then they have been exceedingly scientific. It has been the science of selfishness; it has been the science of privilege. That kind of science I do not care to know anything about except enough to stop it. But if by scientific treatment of the tariff they mean adjustment to the actual trade conditions of America and the world, then I am with them; and I want to call their attention—for though they voted for it they apparently have not noticed it—to the fact that the bill which creates the new Trade Commission does that very thing. We were at pains to see that it was put in there. That commission is authorized and empowered to inquire into and report to Congress not only upon all the conditions of trade in this country, but upon the conditions of trade, the cost of manufacture, the cost of transportation—all the things that enter into the question of the tariff—in foreign countries and into all those questions of foreign combinations which affect international trade between Europe and the United States. It has the full powers which will guide Congress in the scientific treatment of questions of international trade. Being by profession a schoolmaster, I am glad to point that out to the

class of uninstructed Republicans, though I have not always taught in the primary grade.

At every turn the things that the progressive Republicans have proposed that were practicable, the Democrats either have done or are immediately proposing to do. If that is not our bill of particulars to satisfy the independent voters of the country, I would like to have one produced. There are things that the Progressive program contained which we, being constitutional lawyers, happened to know can not be done by the Congress of the United States. That is a detail which they seem to have overlooked. But so far as they can be done by State legislatures, I, for one, speaking for one Democrat, am heartily in favor of their being done. Because Democrats do not congregate merely in Washington. They congregate also in the State capitols, and they congregate there in very influential numbers and with very influential organizations.

Just before I came away from Washington I was going over some of the figures of the last elections, the elections of November last. The official returns have not all come in yet. I do not know why they are so slow in getting to us, but so far as they have come in they have given me this useful information, that taking the States where Senators were elected, and where Senators were not elected taking the election of Governors, and where Governors were not elected taking the returns for the State legislatures or for the Congressional delegates, the Democrats, reckoning State by State, would, if it had been a presidential year, have had a majority of about eighty in the Electoral College. Fortunately or unfortunately, this is not a presidential year; but the thing is significant to me for this reason. A great many people have been speaking of the Democratic party as a minority party. Well, if it is, it is not so much of a minority party as the Republican, and as between the minorities I think we can claim to belong to the larger minority. The moral of that is merely what I have already been pointing out to you, that neither party in its regular membership has a majority. I do not want to make the independent voter too proud of himself, but I have got to admit that he is our boss; and I am bound to admit that the things that he wants are, so far as I have seen them mentioned, things that I want.

I am not an independent voter, but I hope I can claim to be an independent person, and I want to say this distinctly: I do not love any party any longer than it continues to serve the immediate and pressing needs of America. I have been bred in the Democratic party; I love the Democratic party; but I love America a great deal more than I love the Democratic party; and when the Democratic party thinks that it is an end in itself, then I rise up and dissent. It is a means to an end, and its power depends, and ought to depend, upon its showing that it knows what America needs and is ready to give it what

it needs. That is the reason I say to the independent voter you have got us in the palm of your hand. I do not happen to be one of your number, but I recognize your supremacy, because I read the election returns; and I have this ambition, my Democratic friends—I can avow it on Jackson day—I want to make every independent voter in this country a Democrat. It is a little cold and lonely out where he is, because, though he holds the balance of power, he is not the majority, and I want him to come in where it is warm. I want him to come in where there is a lot of good society, good companionship, where there are great emotions. That is what I miss in the Republican party; they do not seem to have any great emotions. They seem to think a lot of things, old things, but they do not seem to have any enthusiasm about anything.

There is one thing I have got a great enthusiasm about, I might almost say a reckless enthusiasm, and that is human liberty. The Governor has just now spoken about watchful waiting in Mexico. I want to say a word about Mexico, or not so much about Mexico as about our attitude towards Mexico. I hold it as a fundamental principle, and so do you, that every people has the right to determine its own form of government; and until this recent revolution in Mexico, until the end of the Diaz reign, eighty per cent. of the people of Mexico never had a "look in" in determining who should be their governors or what their government should be. Now, I am for the eighty per cent.! It is none of my business, and it is none of your business, how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business, and it is none of yours, how they go about the business. The country is theirs. The Government is theirs. The liberty, if they can get it, and God-speed them in getting it, is theirs. And so far as my influence goes while I am President nobody shall interfere with them.

That is what I mean by a great emotion, the great emotion of sympathy. Do you suppose that the American people are ever going to count a small amount of material benefit and advantage to people doing business in Mexico against the liberties and the permanent happiness of the Mexican people? Have not European nations taken as long as they wanted and spilt as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs, and shall we deny that to Mexico because she is weak? No, I say! I am proud to belong to a strong nation that says, "This country which we could crush shall have just as much freedom in her own affairs as we have." If I am strong, I am ashamed to bully the weak. In proportion to my strength is my pride in withholding that strength from the oppression of another people. And I know when I speak these things, not merely from the generous response with which they have just met from you, but from my long-time knowledge of the American people, that that is the sentiment of this great people. With all due respect to editors

of great newspapers, I have to say to them that I seldom take my opinion of the American people from their editorials. When some great dailies not very far from where I am temporarily residing thundered with rising scorn at watchful waiting, my confidence was not for a moment shaken. I knew what were the temper and principles of the American people. If I did not at least think I knew, I would emigrate, because I would not be satisfied to stay where I am. There may come a time when the American people will have to judge whether I know what I am talking about or not, but at least for two years more I am free to think that I do, with a great comfort in immunity in the time being.

It is, by the way, a very comforting thought that the next Congress of the United States is going to be very safely Democratic and that, therefore, we can all together feel as much confidence as Jackson did that we know what we are about. You know Jackson used to think that everybody who disagreed with him was an enemy of the country. I have never got quite that far in my thought, but I have ventured to think that they did not know what they were talking about, knowing that my fellow Democrats expected me to live up to the full stature of Jacksonian Democracy.

I feel, my friends, in a very confident mood to-day. I feel confident that we do know the spirit of the American people, that we do know the program of betterment which it will be necessary for us to undertake, that we do have a very reasonable confidence in the support of the American people. I have been talking with business men recently about the present state of mind of American business. There is nothing the matter with American business except a state of mind. I understand that your chamber of commerce here in Indianapolis is working now upon the motto, "If you are going to buy it, buy it now." That is a perfectly safe maxim to act on. It is just as safe to buy it now as it ever will be, and if you start the buying there will be no end to it, and you will be a seller as well as a buyer. I am just as sure of that as I can be, because I have taken counsel with the men who know. I never was in business and, therefore, I have none of the prejudices of business. I have looked on and tried to see what the interests of the country were in business; I have taken counsel with men who did know, and their counsel is uniform, that all that is needed in America now is to believe in the future; and I can assure you as one of those who speak for the Democratic party that it is perfectly safe to believe in the future. We are so much the friends of business that we were for a little time the enemies of those who were trying to control business. I say "for a little time" because we are now reconciled to them. They have graciously admitted that we had a right to do what we did do, and they have very handsomely said that they were going to play the game.

I believe—I always have believed—that American business men were absolutely sound at heart, but men immersed in business do a lot of things that opportunity offers which in other circumstances they would not do; and I have thought all along that all that was necessary to do was to call their attention sharply to the kind of reforms in business which were needed and that they would acquiesce. Why, I believe they have heartily acquiesced. There is all the more reason, therefore, that, great and small, we should be confident in the future.

And what a future it is, my friends! Look abroad upon the troubled world! Only America at peace! Among all the great powers of the world only America saving her power for her own people! Only America using her great character and her great strength in the interests of peace and of prosperity! Do you not think it likely that the world will some time turn to America and say, "You were right and we were wrong. You kept your head when we lost ours. You tried to keep the scale from tipping, and we threw the whole weight of arms in one side of the scale. Now, in your self-possession, in your coolness, in your strength, may we not turn to you for counsel and for assistance?" Think of the deep-wrought destruction of economic resources, of life, and of hope that is taking place in some parts of the world, and think of the reservoir of hope, the reservoir of energy, the reservoir of sustenance that there is in this great land of plenty! May we not look forward to the time when we shall be called blessed among the nations, because we succored the nations of the world in their time of distress and of dismay? I for one pray God that that solemn hour may come, and I know the solidity of character and I know the exaltation of hope, I know the big principle with which the American people will respond to the call of the world for this service. I thank God that those who believe in America, who try to serve her people, are likely to be also what America herself from the first hoped and meant to be—the servant of mankind.

[Before the United States Chamber of Commerce at the New Willard, Washington, D. C., February 3, 1915.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I feel that it is hardly fair to you for me to come in this casual fashion among a body of men who have been seriously discussing great questions, and it is hardly fair to me, because I come in cold, not having had the advantage of sharing the atmosphere of your deliberations and catching the feeling of your conference. Moreover, I hardly know just how to express my interest in the things you are undertaking. When a man stands outside an organization and speaks to it he is too apt to have the tone of outside commendation, as who should say, "I

would desire to pat you on the back and say 'Good boys; you are doing well!' " I would a great deal rather have you receive me as if for the time being I were one of your own number.

The longer I occupy the office that I now occupy the more I regret any lines of separation; the more I deplore any feeling that one set of men has one set of interests and another set of men another set of interests; the more I feel the solidarity of the Nation—the impossibility of separating one interest from another without misconceiving it; the necessity that we should all understand one another, in order that we may understand ourselves.

There is an illustration which I have used a great many times. I will use it again, because it is the most serviceable to my own mind. We often speak of a man who can not find his way in some jungle or some desert as having "lost himself." Did you never reflect that that is the only thing he has not lost? *He is there.* He has lost the rest of the world. He has no fixed point by which to steer. He does not know which is north, which is south, which is east, which is west; and if he did know, he is so confused that he would not know in which of those directions his goal lay. Therefore, following his heart, he walks in a great circle from right to left and comes back to where he started—to himself again. To my mind that is a picture of the world. If you have lost sight of other interests and do not know the relation of your own interests to those other interests, then you do not understand your own interests, and have lost yourself. What you want is orientation, relationship to the points of the compass; relationship to the other people in the world; vital connections which you have for the time being severed.

I am particularly glad to express my admiration for the kind of organization which you have drawn together. I have attended banquets of chambers of commerce in various parts of the country and have got the impression at each of those banquets that there was only one city in the country. It has seemed to me that those associations were meant in order to destroy men's perspective, in order to destroy their sense of relative proportions. Worst of all, if I may be permitted to say so, they were intended to boost something in particular. Boosting is a very unhandsome thing. Advancing enterprise is a very handsome thing, but to exaggerate local merits in order to create disproportion in the general development is not a particularly handsome thing or a particularly intelligent thing. A city can not grow on the face of a great state like a mushroom on that one spot. Its roots are throughout the state, and unless the state it is in, or the region it draws from, can itself thrive and pulse with life as a whole, the city can have no healthy growth. You forget the wide rootages of everything when you boost some particular region. There are dangers which probably you all understand in the mere practice of advertise-

ment. When a man begins to advertise himself there are certain points that are somewhat exaggerated, and I have noticed that men who exaggerate most, most quickly lose any proper conception of what their own proportions are. Therefore, these local centers of enthusiasm may be local centers of mistake if they are not very wisely guided and if they do not themselves realize their relations to the other centers of enthusiasm and of advancement.

The advantage about a Chamber of Commerce of the United States is that there is only one way to boost the United States, and that is by seeing to it that the conditions under which business is done throughout the whole country are the best possible conditions. There can not be any disproportion about that. If you draw your sap and your vitality from all quarters, then the more sap and vitality there is in you the more there is in the commonwealth as a whole, and every time you lift at all you lift the whole level of manufacturing and mercantile enterprise. Moreover, the advantage of it is that you can not boost the United States in that way without understanding the United States. You learn a great deal. I agreed with a colleague of mine in the Cabinet the other day that we had never attended in our lives before a school to compare with that we were now attending for the purpose of gaining a liberal education.

Of course, I learn a great many things that are not so, but the interesting thing about that is this: Things that are not so do not match. If you hear enough of them, you see there is no pattern whatever; it is a crazy quilt. Whereas, the truth always matches, piece by piece, with other parts of the truth. No man can lie consistently, and he can not lie about everything if he talks to you long. I would guarantee that if enough liars talked to you, you would get the truth; because the parts that they did not invent would match one another, and the parts that they did invent would *not* match one another. Talk long enough, therefore, and see the connections clearly enough, and you can patch together the case as a whole. I had somewhat that experience about Mexico, and that was about the only way in which I learned anything that was true about it. For there had been vivid imaginations and many special interests which depicted things as they wished me to believe them to be.

Seriously, the task of this body is to match all the facts of business throughout the country and to see the vast and consistent pattern of it. That is the reason I think you are to be congratulated upon the fact that you can not do this thing without common counsel. There isn't any man who knows enough to comprehend the United States. It is a cooperative effort, necessarily. You can not perform the functions of this Chamber of Commerce without drawing in not only a vast number of men, but men, and a number of men, from every region and section of the country. The minute this association

falls into the hands, if it ever should, of men from a single section or men with a single set of interests most at heart, it will go to seed and die. Its strength must come from the uttermost parts of the land and must be compounded of brains and comprehensions of every sort. It is a very noble and handsome picture for the imagination, and I have asked myself before I came here to-day, what relation you could bear to the Government of the United States and what relation the Government could bear to you?

There are two aspects and activities of the Government with which you will naturally come into most direct contact. The first is the Government's power of inquiry, systematic and disinterested inquiry, and its power of scientific assistance. You get an illustration of the latter, for example, in the Department of Agriculture. Has it occurred to you, I wonder, that we are just upon the eve of a time when our Department of Agriculture will be of infinite importance to the whole world? There is a shortage of food in the world now. That shortage will be much more serious a few months from now than it is now. It is necessary that we should plant a great deal more; it is necessary that our lands should yield more per acre than they do now; it is necessary that there should not be a plow or a spade idle in this country if the world is to be fed. And the methods of our farmers must feed upon the scientific information to be derived from the State departments of agriculture, and from that taproot of all, the United States Department of Agriculture. The object and use of that department is to inform men of the latest developments and disclosures of science with regard to all the processes by which soils can be put to their proper use and their fertility made the greatest possible. Similarly with the Bureau of Standards. It is ready to supply those things by which you can set norms, you can set bases, for all the scientific processes of business.

I have a great admiration for the scientific parts of the Government of the United States, and it has amazed me that so few men have discovered them. Here in these departments are quiet men, trained to the highest degree of skill, serving for a petty remuneration along lines that are infinitely useful to mankind; and yet in some cases they waited to be discovered until this Chamber of Commerce of the United States was established. Coming to this city, officers of that association found that there were here things that were infinitely useful to them and with which the whole United States ought to be put into communication.

The Government of the United States is very properly a great instrumentality of inquiry and information. One thing we are just beginning to do that we ought to have done long ago: We ought long ago to have had our Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. We ought long ago to have sent the best eyes of the Government out into

the world to see where the opportunities and openings of American commerce and American genius were to be found—men who were not sent out as the commercial agents of any particular set of business men in the United States, but who were eyes for the whole business community. I have been reading consular reports for 20 years. In what I came to regard as an evil day the Congressman from my district began to send me the consular reports, and they ate up more and more of my time. They are very interesting, but they are a good deal like what the old lady said of the dictionary, that it was very interesting but a little disconnected. You get a picture of the world as if a spot light were being dotted about over the surface of it. Here you see a glimpse of this, and here you see a glimpse of that, and through the medium of some consuls you do not see anything at all. Because the consul has to have eyes and the consul has to know what he is looking for. A literary friend of mine said that he used to believe in the maxim that “everything comes to the man who waits,” but he discovered after awhile by practical experience that it needed an additional clause, “provided he knows what he is waiting for.” Unless you know what you are looking for and have trained eyes to see it when it comes your way, it may pass you unnoticed. We are just beginning to do, systematically and scientifically, what we ought long ago to have done, to employ the Government of the United States to survey the world in order that the American commerce might be guided.

But there are other ways of using the Government of the United States, ways that have long been tried, though not always with conspicuous success or fortunate results. You can use the Government of the United States by influencing its legislation. That has been a very active industry, but it has not always been managed in the interest of the whole people. It is very instructive and useful for the Government of the United States to have such means as you are ready to supply for getting a sort of consensus of opinion which proceeds from no particular quarter and originates with no particular interest. Information is the very foundation of all right action in legislation.

I remember once, a good many years ago, I was attending one of the local chambers of commerce of the United States at a time when everybody was complaining that Congress was interfering with business. If you have heard that complaint recently and supposed that it was original with the man who made it, you have not lived as long as I have. It has been going on ever since I can remember. The complaint came most vigorously from men who were interested in large corporate development. I took the liberty to say to that body of men, whom I did not know, that I took it for granted that there were a great many lawyers among them, and that it was likely that the more prominent of those lawyers were the intimate advisors of the corporations of that region. I said that I had met a great many

lawyers from whom the complaint had come most vigorously, not only that there was too much legislation with regard to corporations, but that it was ignorant legislation. I said, "Now, the responsibility is with you. If the legislation is mistaken, you are on the inside and know where the mistakes are being made. You know not only the innocent and right things that your corporations are doing, but you know the other things, too. Knowing how they are done, you can be expert advisors as to how the wrong things can be prevented. If, therefore, this thing is handled ignorantly, there is nobody to blame but yourselves." If we on the outside can not understand the thing and can not get advice from the inside, then we will have to do it with the flat hand and not with the touch of skill and discrimination. Isn't that true? Men on the inside of business know how business is conducted and they can not complain if men on the outside make mistakes about business if they do not come from the inside and give the kind of advice which is necessary.

The trouble has been that when they came in the past—for I think the thing is changing very rapidly—they came with all their bristles out; they came on the defensive; they came to see, not what they could accomplish, but what they could prevent. They did not come to guide; they came to block. That is of no use whatever to the general body politic. What has got to pervade us like a great motive power is that we can not, and must not, separate our interests from one another, but must pool our interests. A man who is trying to fight for his single hand is fighting against the community and not fighting with it. There are a great many dreadful things about war, as nobody needs to be told in this day of distress and of terror, but there is one thing about war which has a very splendid side, and that is the consciousness that a whole nation gets that they must all act as a unit for a common end. And when peace is as handsome as war there will be no war. When men, I mean, engage in the pursuits of peace in the same spirit of self-sacrifice and of conscious service of the community with which, at any rate, the common soldier engages in war, then shall there be wars no more. You have moved the vanguard for the United States in the purposes of this association just a little nearer that ideal. That is the reason I am here, because I believe it.

There is no specific matter about which I, for one, want your advice. Let me say, if I may say it without disrespect, that I do not think you are prepared to give it right away. You will have to make some rather extended inquiries before you are ready to give it. What I am thinking of is competition in foreign markets as between the merchants of different nations.

I speak of the subject with a certain degree of hesitation, because the thing farthest from my thought is taking advantage of nations now disabled from playing their full part in that competition, and

seeking a sudden selfish advantage because they are for the time being disabled. Pray believe me that we ought to eliminate all that thought from our minds and consider this matter as if we and the other nations now at war were in the normal circumstances of commerce.

There is a normal circumstance of commerce in which we are apparently at a disadvantage. Our anti-trust laws are thought by some to make it illegal for merchants in the United States to form combinations for the purpose of strengthening themselves in taking advantage of the opportunities of foreign trade. That is a very serious matter for this reason: There are some corporations, and some firms for all I know, whose business is great enough and whose resources are abundant enough to enable them to establish selling agencies in foreign countries; to enable them to extend the long credits which in some cases are necessary in order to keep the trade they desire; to enable them, in other words, to organize their business in foreign territory in a way which the smaller man can not afford to do. His business has not grown big enough to permit him to establish selling agencies. The export commission merchant, perhaps, taxes him a little too highly to make that an available competitive means of conducting and extending his business.

The question arises, therefore, how are the smaller merchants, how are the younger and weaker corporations going to get a foothold as against the combinations which are permitted and even encouraged by foreign governments in this field of competition? There are governments which, as you know, distinctly encourage the formation of great combinations in each particular field of commerce in order to maintain selling agencies and to extend long credits, and to use and maintain the machinery which is necessary for the extension of business; and American merchants feel that they are at a very considerable disadvantage in contending against that. The matter has been many times brought to my attention, and I have each time suspended judgment. I want to be shown this: I want to be shown how such a combination can be made and conducted in a way which will not close it against the use of everybody who wants to use it. A combination has a tendency to exclude new members. When a group of men get control of a good thing, they do not see any particular point in letting other people into the good thing. What I would like very much to be shown, therefore, is a method of cooperation which is not a method of combination. Not that the two words are mutually exclusive, but we have come to have a special meaning attached to the word "combination." Most of our combinations have a safety lock, and you have to know the combination to get in. I want to know how these cooperative methods can be adopted for the benefit of everybody who wants to use them, and I say frankly if I can be shown that, I am for them. If I can not be shown that, I

am against them. I hasten to add that I hopefully expect I *can* be shown that.

You, as I have just now intimated, probably can not show it to me off-hand, but by the methods which you have the means of using you certainly ought to be able to throw a vast deal of light on the subject. Because the minute you ask the small merchant, the small banker, the country man, how he looks upon these things and how he thinks they ought to be arranged in order that he can use them, if he is like some of the men in country districts whom I know, he will turn out to have had a good deal of thought upon that subject and to be able to make some very interesting suggestions whose intelligence and comprehensiveness will surprise some city gentlemen who think that only the cities understand the business of the country. As a matter of fact, you do not have time to think in a city. It takes time to think. You can get what you call opinions by contagion in a city and get them very quickly, but you do not always know where the germ came from. And you have no scientific laboratory method by which to determine whether it is a good germ or a bad germ.

There are thinking spaces in this country, and some of the thinking done is very solid thinking indeed, the thinking of the sort of men that we all love best, who think for themselves, who do not see things as they are told to see them, but look at them and see them independently; who, if they are told they are white when they are black, plainly say that they are black—men with eyes and with a courage back of those eyes to tell what they see. The country is full of those men. They have been singularly reticent sometimes, singularly silent, but the country is full of them. And what I rejoice in is that you have called them into the ranks. For your methods are bound to be democratic in spite of you. I do not mean democratic with a big "D," though I have a private conviction that you can not be democratic with a small "d" long without becoming democratic with a big "D." Still that is just between ourselves. The point is that when we have a *consensus* of opinion, when we have this common counsel, then the legislative processes of this Government will be infinitely illuminated.

I used to wonder when I was Governor of one of the States of this great country where all the bills came from. Some of them had a very private complexion. I found upon inquiry—it was easy to find—that practically nine-tenths of the bills that were introduced had been handed to the members who introduced them by some constituent of theirs, had been drawn up by some lawyer whom they might or might not know, and were intended to do something that would be beneficial to a particular set of persons. I do not mean, necessarily, beneficial in a way that would be hurtful to the rest; they may have been perfectly honest, but they came out of cubby-holes all

over the State. They did not come out of public places where men had got together and compared views. They were not the products of common counsel, but the products of private counsel, a very necessary process if there is no other, but a process which it would be a very happy thing to dispense with if we could get another. And the only other process is the process of common counsel.

Some of the happiest experiences of my life have been like this. We had once when I was president of a university to revise the whole course of study. Courses of study are chronically in need of revision. A committee of, I believe, 14 men was directed by the faculty of the university to report a revised curriculum. Naturally, the men who had the most ideas on the subject were picked out and, naturally, each man came with a very definite notion of the kind of revision he wanted, and one of the first discoveries we made was that no two of us wanted exactly the same revision. I went in there with all my war paint on to get the revision I wanted, and I dare say, though it was perhaps more skillfully concealed, the other men had their war paint on, too. We discussed the matter for six months. The result was a report which no one of us had conceived or foreseen, but with which we were all absolutely satisfied. There was not a man who had not learned in that committee more than he had ever known before about the subject, and who had not willingly revised his prepossessions; who was not proud to be a participant in a genuine piece of common counsel. I have had several experiences of that sort, and it has led me, whenever I confer, to hold my particular opinion provisionally, as my contribution to go into the final result but not to dominate the final result.

That is the ideal of a government like ours, and an interesting thing is that if you only talk about an idea that will not work long enough, everybody will see perfectly plainly that it will not work; whereas, if you do not talk about it, and do not have a great many people talk about it, you are in danger of having the people who handle it think that it will work. Many minds are necessary to compound a workable method of life in a various and populous country; and as I think about the whole thing and picture the purposes, the infinitely difficult and complex purposes which we must conceive and carry out, not only does it minister to my own modesty, I hope, of opinion, but it also fills me with a very great enthusiasm. It is a splendid thing to be part of a great wide-awake Nation. It is a splendid thing to know that your strength is infinitely multiplied by the strength of other men who love the country as you do. It is a splendid thing to feel that the wholesome blood of a great country can be united in common purposes, and that by frankly looking one another in the face and taking counsel with one another, prejudices will drop away, handsome understandings will arise, a universal spirit of service will be engendered, and that with this increased sense of community of purpose

will come a vastly enhanced individual power of achievement; for we will be lifted by the whole mass of which we constitute a part.

Have you never heard a great chorus of trained voices lift the voice of the prima donna as if it soared with easy grace above the whole melodious sound? It does not seem to come from the single throat that produces it. It seems as if it were the perfect accent and crown of the great chorus. So it ought to be with the statesman. So it ought to be with every man who tries to guide the counsels of a great nation. He should feel that his voice is lifted upon the chorus and that it is only the crown of the common theme.

VETO MESSAGE

[Returning to the House of Representatives, without Approval an Act to Regulate the Immigration and Residence of Aliens in the United States.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 28, 1915.*

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

It is with unaffected regret that I find myself constrained by clear conviction to return this bill (H. R. 6060, "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States") without my signature. Not only do I feel it to be a very serious matter to exercise the power of veto in any case, because it involves opposing the single judgment of the President to the judgment of the majority of both the Houses of the Congress, a step which no man who realizes his own liability to error can take without great hesitation, but also because this particular bill is in so many important respects admirable, well conceived, and desirable. Its enactment into law would undoubtedly enhance the efficiency and improve the methods of handling the important branch of the public service to which it relates. But candor and a sense of duty with regard to the responsibility so clearly imposed upon me by the Constitution in matters of legislation leave me no choice but to dissent..

In two particulars of vital consequence this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country, a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their Government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the Nation in respect of its relations to the peoples of the world outside their borders. It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men; and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity.

Restrictions like these, adopted earlier in our history as a Nation, would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane

ardors of our politics. The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land, and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our public councils. The children and the compatriots of these illustrious Americans must stand amazed to see the representatives of their Nation now resolved, in the fullness of our national strength and at the maturity of our great institutions, to risk turning such men back from our shores without test of quality or purpose. It is difficult for me to believe that the full effect of this feature of the bill was realized when it was framed and adopted, and it is impossible for me to assent to it in the form in which it is here cast.

The literacy test and the tests and restrictions which accompany it constitute an even more radical change in the policy of the Nation. Hitherto we have generously kept our doors open to all who were not unfitted by reason of disease or incapacity for self-support or such personal records and antecedents as were likely to make them a menace to our peace and order or to the wholesome and essential relationships of life. In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and impose tests which exclude and restrict; for the new tests here embodied are not tests of quality or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking opportunity are not to be admitted unless they have already had one of the chief of the opportunities they seek, the opportunity of education. The object of such provisions is restriction, not selection.

If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. But I do not believe that they have. I respectfully submit that no one can quote their mandate to that effect. Has any political party ever avowed a policy of restriction in this fundamental matter, gone to the country on it, and been commissioned to control its legislation? Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise.

I have no pride of opinion in this question. I am not foolish enough to profess to know the wishes and ideals of America better than the body of her chosen representatives know them. I only want instruction direct from those whose fortunes, with ours and all men's, are involved.

WOODROW WILSON.

PRINCIPAL LEGISLATION

OF THE

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

The House of Representatives of the Sixty-third Congress, chosen coincident with the election of Woodrow Wilson to the Presidency, consisted of 435 members. Of these 291 were Democrats, 124 Republicans, and the remainder were classed as Independents, Progressives and Progressive Republicans. The Senate, of 96 members, 53 of whom were Democrats, was convened in special session at noon March 4, 1913, to confirm the executive appointments of the new President. (For the Cabinet see "Wilson" Encyclopedic Index.) By proclamation of March 17th, President Wilson called upon Congress to assemble April 7th for the purpose of revising the tariff law in accordance with the platform of the Democratic party.

In his opening message Mr. Wilson said (page 7872): "We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising—masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do not, and probably can not, produce, therefore, and the duties laid upon luxuries and merely for the sake of the revenues they yield, the object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competition, the whetting of American wits by contest with the wits of the rest of the world."

The first act of importance was the Underwood Tariff Law, which also included the income and corporation tax provisions. (See Encyclopedic Index, "Tariff of 1913," "Income Tax" and "Corporation Tax.")

Besides enacting the tariff law and getting the currency bill well under way the first session passed the labor arbitration law, increased the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy, provided for an ambassador to Spain, authorized military intervention in Mexico (page 7934); set apart through presidential proclamation the second Sunday in May as Mothers' Day (page 7941); provided for leasing the coal lands and building a railroad in Alaska and for the relief of the people of the territory, and the Commerce Court was abolished.

The Ministers to Argentina and Chile were promoted to ambassadors. The joint mission to Paraguay and Uruguay was made two separate ministries.

The Federal Reserve Banking and Currency Law was enacted. (See Currency Law.) Two separate laws were passed restricting the sale of opium.

The army enlistment law was improved and an aviation section was added.

American citizens imperilled in Mexico and in the European war zone were provided with means for returning home.

Exemption of American coastwise vessels from payment of tolls was stricken from Panama Canal Law. Foreign built ships were admitted to American registry and insured by the Government against war risks.

Cotton grades were standardized and trading in futures was penalized.

Anti-Trust Legislation.—The President's ideas of anti-monopoly laws were presumed to be legally embodied in the so-called "Seven Sisters" laws of New Jersey (*q.v.*), enacted while he was Governor of that State. Senator Newlands

(Nev.), Feb. 27, 1913, introduced a Democratic measure to create an interstate trade commission with the report of a committee on the amendment of the Sherman act. Two bills to prevent the concentration of corporate capital were introduced with the report of the Pujo committee, which had investigated the so-called Money Trust, and a flood of other bills on the same subject appeared, reflecting for the most part individual opinions.

Mr. Clayton, chairman of the Committee on Judiciary, undertook to compile the suggestions into legal form. For this purpose he prepared four measures which were submitted to the President and agreed to by him as comprehending his ideas of economic reform. These four, with the addition of the Adamson bill, to regulate the issuance of securities by common carriers, became known as the "Five Brothers." His first bill was nearly the same as the Newlands bill of the previous session, and proposed the transfer of the organization, powers and appropriations of the Bureau of Corporations to a Trade Commission of five, to be endowed with inquisitorial powers and to act in an advisory capacity to the Attorney-General in suits under the Sherman act. The second bill prohibited, after two years, interlocking directorates between corporations manufacturing railroad supplies, conducting banks or trust companies or mining or selling coal, and railroad or other corporations engaged in interstate business, and also between banks in the Federal Reserve System. The third Clayton bill specifically defined "contract," "combination in the form of trust or otherwise," "conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce," and "monopolize," as used in the Sherman act. The fourth proposed new sections to the Sherman act prohibiting unfair competition by means of price discrimination, discounts, rebates, or exclusive agreements, and extended to individuals the right to bring suits in equity against corporations adjudged guilty in suits brought by the government. The fifth brother was the Adamson bill (later the Rayburn bill) to forbid interlocking directorates of common carriers, and extend the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the regulation of the issue of stock and bonds of interstate common carriers.

The four Clayton bills were published immediately after the President's Message of Jan. 20, 1914. (See page 7913) The first introduced in Congress was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and, after extended hearings and discussion, was abandoned in favor of the Covington bill, creating the Federal Trade Commission, which became law Sept. 26, 1914. (See Trade Commission.)

The second, third and fourth "brothers" were finally consolidated into a single measure known as the Clayton anti-trust bill. This was introduced in the House April 14, 1914, as an administration measure and, under insistence by the President, was finally passed Oct. 8th, and signed Oct. 15th.

The fifth "brother," then the Rayburn bill to regulate the issue of securities by interstate corporations was late in August postponed by consent of the President (page 8015, message of Dec. 8th). (See Clayton Anti-Trust Law.)

The Coast Guard was established by consolidating the Revenue Cutter Service and the Life Saving Service. Special war revenue taxes were levied.

Appropriations for the Navy aggregated \$150,000,000 and provided for two battleships, six destroyers, two sea-going submarines, sixteen coast defense submarines, one fuel ship, and \$1,000,000 for air craft.

The total number of bills introduced in the Senate and House during the three sessions of the Sixty-third Congress was 29,367. In the Senate 7,751 bills were introduced, 573 resolutions and 244 joint resolutions. In the House 21,616 bills were introduced, 751 resolutions, 439 joint resolutions, and 60 concurrent resolutions. About 350 of these various measures became law through the approval of the President.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

A PROCLAMATION

[Opening of Lands in Standing Rock Indian Reservation.]

I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by the Act of Congress approved February 14, 1913 (37 Stat., 675), do hereby prescribe, proclaim and make known that all the non-mineral, unallotted and unreserved lands within the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, in the States of North and South Dakota, shall be disposed of under the general provisions of the homestead laws of the United States and the said Act of Congress, shall be opened to settlement and entry, and shall be settled upon, occupied and entered in the following manner, and not otherwise:

1. *Execution and Presentation of Applications.*—Any person who is qualified to make entry under the general provisions of the homestead laws may swear to and present an application to make homestead entry of these lands on or after May 3, 1915, or any such person who is entitled to the benefits of Sections 2304, 2305 and 2307, of the Revised Statutes of the United States, may file a declaratory statement for these lands on or after said date. Each application to make homestead entry and each declaratory statement filed in person must be sworn to by the applicant before the Register or the Receiver of the United States land office for the district in which the lands are situated, or before a United States Commissioner, or a judge or a clerk of a court of record residing in the county in which the land is situated, or before any such officer who resides outside the county and in the land district and is nearest or most accessible to the land. The agent's affidavit to each declaratory statement filed by agent must be sworn to by the agent before one of such officers on or after May 3, 1915, but the power of attorney appointing the agent may be sworn to by the declarant on or after April 1, 1915, before any officer in the United States having a seal and authority to administer oaths. After applications have been so sworn to, they must be presented to the Register and Receiver of the proper land office. Applicants may present the applications in person, by mail, or otherwise. No person shall be permitted to present more than one application in his own behalf.

2. *Purchase Money, Fees and Commissions.*—One-fifth of the purchase price of the land applied for must be paid at the time of entry and a sum equal thereto must be tendered with all applications to make homestead entry. Such sum will also be required with declaratory statements presented on or before May 17, 1915, and when so tendered will be disposed of as hereinafter provided. In addition, each application to make homestead entry must be accompanied by a fee of \$5, if the area is 80 acres or less, or \$10, if more than 80 acres, and commissions

at the rate of \$.02½ for each acre applied for; and each declaratory statement must be accompanied by a fee of \$2.

3. *Disposition of Applications.*—All homestead applications and declaratory statements received by the proper Register and Receiver on or after May 3, 1915, and on or before May 17, 1915, will be treated as filed simultaneously, and where there is no conflict such applications and statements, if in proper form and accompanied by the required payment, will be allowed on May 19, 1915. If such applications or statements conflict in whole or in part, the right of the respective applicants will be determined by public drawings, to be conducted by or under the supervision of the Superintendent of Openings and Sales of Indian Reservations. A drawing will be conducted for lands in North Dakota at the United States land office for the district in which the lands are situated, beginning at 10 o'clock, a. m., on May 19, 1915, and for lands in South Dakota at the United States land office for the district in which the lands are situated, beginning at 10 o'clock, a. m., on May 21, 1915. The names of the persons who presented the conflicting applications and statements will be written on cards and these cards shall be placed in envelopes upon which there are no distinctive or identifying marks. These envelopes shall be thoroughly and impartially mixed, and, after being mixed, shall be drawn one at a time by some disinterested person. As the envelopes are drawn the cards shall be removed, numbered beginning with number one, and fastened to the applications of the proper persons, which shall be the order in which the applications and statements shall be acted upon and disposed of. If homestead application or declaratory statement can not be allowed for any part of the land applied for, it shall be rejected. If it may be allowed for part of, but not for all, the land applied for, the applicant, or the declarant through his agent, shall be allowed thirty days from receipt of notice within which to notify the Register and Receiver what disposition to make thereof. During such time, he may request that the application or statement be allowed for the land not in conflict and rejected as to the land in conflict, or that it be rejected as to all the land applied for; or he may apply to have the application or statement amended to include other land which is subject to entry and to inclusion in his application or statement, provided he is the prior applicant. If it is determined by the drawing that a declaratory statement shall be acted upon and disposed of before a homestead application for the same land, the homestead applicant shall be allowed thirty days from receipt of notice within which to advise the Register and Receiver whether to allow or to reject the application. If an applicant, or a declarant or his agent, fails to notify the Register and Receiver within the time allowed what disposition to make of the application or statement, it will be rejected as to all the land applied for. Homestead applications and declaratory statements which are presented after May 17, 1915, will be received and noted in the order of

their filing, and will be acted upon and disposed of in the usual manner after all such applications and statements presented on or before that date have been acted upon and disposed of.

4. *Disposition of Moneys.*—Moneys tendered with applications and statements presented on or before May 17, 1915, except fees for filing declaratory statements, will be deposited by the Receiver of the proper land office to his official credit and properly accounted for. The fee for filing a declaratory statement must be paid even though the application is rejected, and such fee will be properly applied when the statement is filed. When a homestead application is allowed in whole or in part, the sums required as fees, commissions and purchase money will be properly applied, and any sum in excess of the required amount will be returned to the applicant. When a declaratory statement is allowed in whole or in part, the sum which will be required as purchase money if entry is made under the declaratory statement will be held until entry has been allowed under the statement or the time has expired within which entry may be made and any sum in excess of the required amount will be returned to the declarant. The moneys held will not be returned until the time has expired within which entry may be made under the statement but will be returned as soon as possible thereafter if entry is not made. Moneys tendered with applications and statements which are rejected in whole, except fees for filing declaratory statements, will be returned. If an applicant or declarant fails to secure all the land applied for and amends his application or statement to embrace other lands, the moneys theretofore tendered will be applied on account of the required payment under the amended application. If it is not sufficient, the applicant or declarant will be required to pay the deficiency, and if it is more than sufficient, the excess will be returned. Moneys returned to applicants or declarants will be returned by the official check of the Receiver of the proper United States land office. Moneys tendered with applications or statements presented after May 17, 1915, will be deposited by the Receiver of the proper land office in the usual manner.

5. *Price of Lands.*—Lands entered or filed upon prior to August 19, 1915, must be paid for at the rate of \$5 per acre; those entered or filed upon on or after that date and prior to November 19, 1915, at the rate of \$3.50 per acre; and those entered or filed upon on or after November 19, 1915, at the rate of \$2.50 per acre. Should land be re-entered or re-filed upon, the price will be that fixed by the first entry or filing.

6. *Residence and Cultivation.*—The residence, cultivation and improvements which will be required in connection with entries of these lands will be the same as are required in connection with other lands entered under the general provisions of the homestead laws.

7. *Deferred Payments.*—The portion of the purchase price of the land which is not required when entry is made, may be paid in five

equal installments, the first within two years from the date of entry and the remainder annually in three, four, five and six years, respectively, thereafter, unless commutation proof is submitted. If commutation proof is submitted, final payment must be made at that time. If three-year proof is submitted, final payment may be made then or at any time thereafter before the payments become due in the annual installments. Neither final certificate nor patent will issue under a three-year proof until final payment of purchase money has been made.

8. *Forfeitures*.—If an entryman fails to make any payment when it becomes due, or fails to comply with the requirements as to residence, cultivation or improvement, his entry will be canceled and all payments theretofore made by him under the entry will be forfeited.

9. *Settlement in Advance of Entry*.—Claims may be initiated to these lands by settlement in advance of entry on and after November 19, 1915, and not before then.

10. *Rules and Regulations*.—The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to make and prescribe such forms, rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry the provisions of this Proclamation into full force and effect.

In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 18th day of March in the
[SEAL.] year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifteen and of the
independence of the United States the one hundred and
thirty-ninth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

[Changing the name of Culebra Cut to Gaillard Cut.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 27, 1915.*

It is hereby ordered that the portion of the Panama Canal through the continental divide heretofore known as "Culebra Cut" shall hereafter be named "Gaillard Cut" in honor of the late Lieutenant-Colonel D. D. Gaillard, Corps of Engineers, United States Army.

As a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission from March 16, 1907, to December 5, 1913, Lieutenant-Colonel Gaillard was in charge of the work in Culebra Cut until its virtual completion, being compelled to abandon his duties in July, 1913, through an illness which culminated in his death on December 5, 1913. His period of Panama Canal service included the years of most active construction work. He brought to the service trained ability of the highest class, untiring zeal and unswerving devotion to duty.

I deem it a fitting recognition of Lieutenant-Colonel Gaillard's service to the country to re-name in his honor the scene of his life's triumph.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS

[At the Associated Press Luncheon, New York, N. Y., April 20, 1915.]

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: I am deeply gratified by the generous reception you have accorded me. It makes me look back with a touch of regret to former occasions when I have stood in this place and enjoyed a greater liberty than is granted me to-day. There have been times when I stood in this spot and said what I really thought, and I can not help praying that those days of indulgence may be accorded me again. I have come here to-day, of course, somewhat restrained by a sense of responsibility which I can not escape. For I take the Associated Press very seriously. I know the enormous part that you play in the affairs not only of this country but of the world. You deal in the raw material of opinion and, if my convictions have any validity, opinion ultimately governs the world.

It is, therefore, of very serious things that I think as I face this body of men. I do not think of you, however, as members of the Associated Press. I do not think of you as men of different parties or of different racial derivations or of different religious denominations. I want to talk to you as to my fellow citizens of the United States, for there are serious things which as fellow citizens we ought to consider. The times behind us, gentlemen, have been difficult enough; the times before us are likely to be more difficult still, because, whatever may be said about the present condition of the world's affairs, it is clear that they are drawing rapidly to a climax, and at the climax the test will come, not only for the nations engaged in the present colossal struggle—it will come to them, of course—but the test will come for us particularly.

Do you realize that, roughly speaking, we are the only great Nation at present disengaged? I am not speaking, of course, with disparagement of the greatness of those nations in Europe which are not parties to the present war, but I am thinking of their close neighborhood to it. I am thinking how their lives much more than ours touch the very heart and stuff of the business, whereas we have rolling between us and those bitter days across the water 3,000 miles of cool and silent ocean. Our atmosphere is not yet charged with those disturbing elements which must permeate every nation of Europe. Therefore, is it not likely that the nations of the world will some day turn to us for the cooler assessment of the elements engaged? I am not now thinking so preposterous a thought as that we should sit in judgment upon them—no nation is fit to sit in judgment upon any other nation—but that we shall some day have to assist in reconstructing the processes of peace. Our resources are untouched; we are more and more becoming by the force of circumstances the mediating Nation of the world in respect of its finance. We must make up our

minds what are the best things to do and what are the best ways to do them. We must put our money, our energy, our enthusiasm, our sympathy into these things, and we must have our judgments prepared and our spirits chastened against the coming of that day.

So that I am not speaking in a selfish spirit when I say that our whole duty, for the present at any rate, is summed up in this motto, "America first." Let us think of America before we think of Europe, in order that America may be fit to be Europe's friend when the day of tested friendship comes. The test of friendship is not now sympathy with the one side or the other, but getting ready to help both sides when the struggle is over. The basis of neutrality, gentlemen, is not indifference; it is not self-interest. The basis of neutrality is sympathy for mankind. It is fairness, it is good will, at bottom. It is impartiality of spirit and of judgment. I wish that all of our fellow citizens could realize that. There is in some quarters a disposition to create distempers in this body politic. Men are even uttering slanders against the United States, as if to excite her. Men are saying that if we should go to war upon either side there would be a divided America—an abominable libel of ignorance! America is not all of it vocal just now. It is vocal in spots, but I, for one, have a complete and abiding faith in that great silent body of Americans who are not standing up and shouting and expressing their opinions just now, but are waiting to find out and support the duty of America. I am just as sure of their solidity and of their loyalty and of their unanimity, if we act justly, as I am that the history of this country has at every crisis and turning point illustrated this great lesson.

We are the mediating Nation of the world. I do not mean that we undertake not to mind our own business and to mediate where other people are quarreling. I mean the word in a broader sense. We are compounded of the nations of the world; we mediate their blood, we mediate their traditions, we mediate their sentiments, their tastes, their passions; we are ourselves compounded of those things. We are, therefore, able to understand all nations; we are able to understand them in the compound, not separately, as partisans, but unitedly as knowing and comprehending and embodying them all. It is in that sense that I mean that America is a mediating Nation. The opinion of America, the action of America, is ready to turn, and free to turn, in any direction. Did you ever reflect upon how almost every other nation has through long centuries been headed in one direction? That is not true of the United States. The United States has no racial momentum. It has no history back of it which makes it run all its energies and all its ambitions in one particular direction. And America is particularly free in this, that she has no hampering ambitions as a world power. We do not want a foot of anybody's territory. If we have been obliged by circumstances, or have considered ourselves

to be obliged by circumstances, in the past, to take territory which we otherwise would not have thought of taking, I believe I am right in saying that we have considered it our duty to administer that territory, not for ourselves but for the people living in it, and to put this burden upon our consciences—not to think that this thing is ours for our use, but to regard ourselves as trustees of the great business for those to whom it does really belong, trustees ready to hand it over to the cestui que trust at any time when the business seems to make that possible and feasible. That is what I mean by saying we have no hampering ambitions. We do not want anything that does not belong to us. Is not a nation in that position free to serve other nations, and is not a nation like that ready to form some part of the assessing opinion of the world?

My interest in the neutrality of the United States is not the petty desire to keep out of trouble. To judge by my experience, I have never been able to keep out of trouble. I have never looked for it, but I have always found it. I do not want to walk around trouble. If any man wants a scrap that is an interesting scrap and worth while, I am his man. I warn him that he is not going to draw me into the scrap for his advertisement, but if he is looking for trouble that is the trouble of men in general and I can help a little, why, then, I am in for it. But I am interested in neutrality because there is something so much greater to do than fight; there is a distinction waiting for this Nation that no nation has ever yet got. That is the distinction of absolute self-control and self-mastery. Whom do you admire most among your friends? The irritable man? The man out of whom you can get a "rise" without trying? The man who will fight at the drop of the hat, whether he knows what the hat is dropped for or not? Don't you admire and don't you fear, if you have to contest with him, the self-mastered man who watches you with calm eye and comes in only when you have carried the thing so far that you must be disposed of? That is the man you respect. That is the man who, you know, has at bottom a much more fundamental and terrible courage than the irritable, fighting man. Now, I covet for America this splendid courage of reserve moral force, and I wanted to point out to you gentlemen simply this:

There is news and news. There is what is called news from Turtle Bay that turns out to be falsehood, at any rate in what it is said to signify, but which, if you could get the Nation to believe it true, might disturb our equilibrium and our self-possession. We ought not to deal in stuff of that kind. We ought not to permit that sort of thing to use up the electrical energy of the wires, because its energy is malign, its energy is not of the truth, its energy is of mischief. It is possible to sift truth. I have known some things to go out on the wires as true when there was only one man or one group of men who could have told the originators of that report whether it was true or

not, and they were not asked whether it was true or not for fear it might not be true. That sort of report ought not to go out over the wires. There is generally, if not always, somebody who knows whether the thing is so or not, and in these days, above all other days, we ought to take particular pains to resort to the one small group of men, or to the one man if there be but one, who knows whether those things are true or not. The world ought to know the truth; the world ought not at this period of unstable equilibrium to be disturbed by rumor, ought not to be disturbed by imaginative combinations of circumstances, or, rather, by circumstances stated in combination which do not belong in combination. You gentlemen, and gentlemen engaged like you, are holding the balances in your hand. This unstable equilibrium rests upon scales that are in your hands. For the food of opinion, as I began by saying, is the news of the day. I have known many a man to go off at a tangent on information that was not reliable. Indeed, that describes the majority of men. The world is held stable by the man who waits for the next day to find out whether the report was true or not.

We can not afford, therefore, to let the rumors of irresponsible persons and origins get into the atmosphere of the United States. We are trustees for what I venture to say is the greatest heritage that any nation ever had, the love of justice and righteousness and human liberty. For, fundamentally, those are the things to which America is addicted and to which she is devoted. There are groups of selfish men in the United States, there are coteries where sinister things are purposed, but the great heart of the American people is just as sound and true as it ever was. And it is a single heart; it is the heart of America. It is not a heart made up of sections selected out of other countries.

What I try to remind myself of every day when I am almost overcome by perplexities, what I try to remember, is what the people at home are thinking about. I try to put myself in the place of the man who does not know all the things that I know and ask myself what he would like the policy of this country to be. Not the talkative man, not the partisan man, not the man who remembers first that he is a Republican or a Democrat, or that his parents were German or English, but the man who remembers first that the whole destiny of modern affairs centers largely upon his being an American first of all. If I permitted myself to be a partisan in this present struggle, I would be unworthy to represent you. If I permitted myself to forget the people who are not partisans, I would be unworthy to be your spokesman. I am not sure that I am worthy to represent you, but I do claim this degree of worthiness—that before everything else I love America.

CORRESPONDENCE GROWING OUT OF THE EUROPEAN
WAR OF 1914-17.TEXT OF AMERICAN NOTES TO GERMANY AND ENGLAND
ON THE SAFETY OF OUR SHIPS AND USE OF OUR FLAG

The full text of the United States Government's notes to Germany and Great Britain in regard to the safety of American ships in the war zone and the use of the American flag, together with the State Department's introductory announcements, are as follows:

To Germany.

February 10, 1915.

The Secretary of State has instructed Ambassador Gerard at Berlin to present to the German Government a note to the following effect:

The Government of the United States, having had its attention directed to the proclamation of the German Admiralty, issued on the 4th of February, that the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English Channel, are to be considered as comprised within the seat of war; that all enemy merchant vessels found in those waters after the 18th inst. will be destroyed, although it may not always be possible to save crews and passengers; and that neutral vessels expose themselves to danger within this zone of war because, in view of the misuse of neutral flags said to have been ordered by the British Government on the 31st of January and of the contingencies of maritime warfare, it may not be possible always to exempt neutral vessels from attacks intended to strike enemy ships, feels it to be its duty to call the attention of the Imperial German Government, with sincere respect and the most friendly sentiments, but very candidly and earnestly, to the very serious possibilities of the course of action apparently contemplated under that proclamation.

The Government of the United States views those possibilities with such grave concern that it feels it to be its privilege, and, indeed, its duty, in the circumstances to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken, the critical situation in respect of the relation between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens.

It is, of course, not necessary to remind the German Government that the sole right of a belligerent in dealing with neutral vessels on the high seas is limited to visit and search, unless a blockade is proclaimed and effectively maintained, which this Government does not understand to be proposed in this case. To declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible.

The suspicion that enemy ships are using neutral flags improperly can create no just presumption that all ships traversing a prescribed area are subject to the same suspicion. It is to determine exactly such questions that this Government understands the right of visit and search to have been recognized.

This Government has carefully noted the explanatory statement issued by the Imperial German Government at the same time with the proclamation of the German Admiralty, and takes this occasion to remind the Imperial German Government very respectfully that the Government of the United States is open to none of the criticisms for unneutral action to which the German Government believes the Governments of certain other neutral nations have laid themselves open; that the Government of the United States has not consented to or acquiesced in any measures which may have been taken by the other belligerent nations in the present war which operate to restrain neutral trade, but has, on the contrary, taken, in all such matters, a position which warrants it in holding those Governments responsible in the proper way for any untoward effects on American shipping which the accepted principles of international law do not justify; and that it, therefore, regards itself as free in the

present instance to take with a clear conscience and upon accepted principles the position indicated in this note.

If the commanders of German vessels of war should act upon the presumption that the flag of the United States was not being used in good faith and should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens, it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights, which it would be very hard, indeed, to reconcile with the friendly relations now happily subsisting between the two Governments.

If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities, and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

The Government of the United States, in view of these considerations, which it urges with the greatest respect and with the sincere purpose of making sure that no misunderstandings may arise, and no circumstances occur, that might even cloud the intercourse of the two Governments, expresses the confident hope and expectation that the Imperial German Government can and will give assurance that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the naval forces of Germany otherwise than by visit and search, though their vessels may be traversing the sea area delimited in the proclamation of the German Admiralty.

It is stated for the information of the Imperial Government that representations have been made to his Britannic Majesty's Government in respect to the unwarranted use of the American flag for the protection of British ships.

To England.

February 10, 1915.

The Secretary of State has instructed Ambassador Page at London to present to the British Government a note to the following effect:

The Department has been advised of the declaration of the German Admiralty on February 4, indicating that the British Government had on January 31, explicitly authorized the use of neutral flags on British merchant vessels, presumably for the purpose of avoiding recognition by German naval forces. The Department's attention has also been directed to reports in the press that the Captain of the *Lusitania*, acting upon orders or information received from the British authorities, raised the American flag as his vessel approached the British coasts, in order to escape anticipated attacks by German submarines. Today's press reports also contain an alleged official statement of the Foreign Office defending the use of the flag of a neutral country by a belligerent vessel in order to escape capture or attack by an enemy.

Assuming that the foregoing reports are true, the Government of the United States, reserving for future consideration the legality and propriety of the deceptive use of the flag of a neutral power in any case for the purpose of avoiding capture, desires very respectfully to point out to his Britannic Majesty's Government the serious consequences which may result to American vessels and American citizens if this practice is continued.

The occasional use of the flag of a neutral or an enemy under the stress of immediate pursuit and to deceive an approaching enemy, which appears by the press reports to be represented as the precedent and justification used to support this action, seems to this Government a very different thing from an explicit sanction by a belligerent Government for its merchant ships generally to fly the flag of a neutral power within certain portions of the high seas, which are presumed to be frequented with hostile warships. The formal declaration of such a policy of general misuse of a neutral's flag jeopardizes the vessels of a neutral visiting those waters in a peculiar degree by raising the presumption that they are of belligerent nationality regardless of the flag which they may carry.

In view of the announced purpose of the German Admiralty to engage in active naval operations in certain delimited sea areas adjacent to the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, the Government of the United States would view with anxious solicitude any general use of the flag of the United States by British vessels traversing those waters. A policy such as the one which his Majesty's Government is said to intend to adopt, would, if the declaration

of the German Admiralty be put in force, it seems clear, afford no protection to British vessels, while it would be a serious and constant menace to the lives and vessels of American citizens.

The Government of the United States, therefore, trusts that his Majesty's Government will do all in their power to restrain vessels of British nationality in the deceptive use of the United States flag in the sea area defined by the German declaration, since such practice would greatly endanger the vessel of a friendly power navigating those waters and would even seem to impose upon the Government of Great Britain a measure of responsibility for the loss of American lives and vessels in case of an attack by a German naval force.

You will impress upon his Majesty's Government the grave concern which this Government feels in the circumstances in regard to the safety of American vessels and lives in the war zone declared by the German Admiralty.

You may add that this Government is making earnest representations to the German Government in regard to the danger to American vessels and citizens if the declaration of the German Admiralty is put into effect.

SUMMARY OF THE AMERICAN NOTE TO GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY AND MAIN POINTS OF GERMANY'S REPLY.

An American note to Great Britain and Germany expresses the hope that the belligerents may, by means of reciprocal concessions, discover a basis of understanding, the result of which would tend to free ships engaged in neutral and peaceful commerce from the serious dangers to which they are exposed in passing through the coastal waters of the belligerent countries.

This suggestion, the note proceeds to say, should not be considered as a proposal by the American Government, whom it naturally did not behoove to propose conditions for such an agreement, though the question at issue had a direct and far-reaching interest for the Government and people of the United States.

The note says the United States ventures solely to take a liberty which it is convinced can be conceded to a sincere friend who is actuated by a desire to cause inconvenience to neither of the two nations and possibly serve the common interests of humanity.

The suggestion is made that Germany and Great Britain should agree, first, that isolated drifting mines should be laid by neither party, that anchored mines should be laid exclusively for defensive purposes within gun range of harbors, and that all mines should bear the mark of the Government of origin, and be so constructed as to become harmless after breaking loose from their anchorages.

It is suggested, second, that the submarines of neither of the two Governments should be employed to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except for the purpose of carrying out the right of holding them up and searching them; and, third, that mercantile ships of neither of the parties should employ neutral flags as a war ruse or for the purpose of concealing their identity.

Great Britain, it is suggested, should agree that foodstuffs should not be placed on the list of absolute contraband, and that the British authorities should neither disturb nor hold up cargoes of such goods, when addressed to agencies in Germany, the names of which are communicated by the United States Government, for the purpose of receiving such goods and handing them over to licensed German retailers for further distribution exclusively to the civil population.

Germany, it is contended, should declare her agreement that foodstuffs from the United States, or any other neutral country, should be addressed to such agencies.

Finally, the American Government says it wishes to safeguard itself against the idea that it either acknowledges or repudiates any right on the part of the belligerents or neutrals established on the principles of international law. The American Government would rather regard such an agreement as a *modus vivendi*, which is based more on suitableness than on legal right.

The German Reply.

The German reply to the note of the United States was dispatched shortly after the receipt of the American note. It begins as follows:

The German Government has taken note of the American suggestion with lively interest, and sees therein new proof of friendly feelings, which are fully reciprocated by Germany. The suggestion corresponds also to the German wishes that the naval war should be waged according to rules which, without subjecting one or the other belligerent Power to one-sided restrictions of methods of warfare, would take into consideration the interests of neutrals as well as the laws of humanity.

In this sense, the German note of February 16 already has pointed out that the observance of the London Declaration by Germany's enemies would create a new situation, from which Germany would gladly be prepared to draw conclusions.

Starting from this conception, the German Government has submitted the American suggestion to attentive examination, and believes that it can recognize therein an effectively suitable basis for a practical solution of the questions at issue.

On particular suggestions contained in the American note the following remarks are made:

Germany would be prepared to make the suggested declaration concerning the non-employment of drifting mines and the construction of anchored mines, and further agrees with the suggestion to attach a Government mark to any mines which may be laid. On the other hand, it appears to Germany not to be practicable for the belligerent powers fully to renounce the employment of anchored mines for offensive purpose.

Second—German submarines would employ force against mercantile vessels of whatsoever flag, only in so far as it is required for the purpose of carrying out the right to hold up and search. If the hostile nationality of a ship or the presence of contraband were proved, the submarines would proceed according to the general international rules.

Third—As the American note provides for the above-mentioned restriction in the employment of submarines, it follows that enemy mercantile vessels should abstain from the use of neutral flags and other neutral signs. In this conclusion it is obvious that hostile mercantile vessels should not be armed, and should refrain from offering violent resistance, since such conduct, which is opposed to international law, renders it impossible for submarines to proceed in accordance with international law.

Fourth—The regulation of the legitimate importation of food supplies to Germany, as suggested by the American Government, appears in general to be acceptable. This regulation would, of course, be restricted to importation by sea; but on the other hand, it would also include indirect importation via neutral ports.

Germany would, therefore, be prepared to make declarations such as are provided for in the American note, so that the employment of imported food supplies would be guaranteed to be exclusively for the peaceful civil population.

In this connection Germany must, however, emphasize that the importation also of other raw materials for peaceful economic purposes, and including fodder, should be made possible. For this purpose the hostile Governments would have to allow free passage to Germany of raw materials mentioned in the free list of the London Declaration, and to treat in the same manner as foodstuffs those materials contained in the list of conditional contraband.

The note concludes as follows:

The German Government hopes that the understanding suggested by the American Government will, regard being paid to the foregoing remarks, be realized, and that thereby peaceful neutral shipping and peaceful neutral commerce will not have more to suffer than is absolutely necessary from the effects of the naval warfare.

Such effects, moreover, would be substantially diminished if, as already pointed out in our note of February 16, means and ways could be found to exclude the importation of war material from neutral to belligerent States on ships of whatsoever flag.

The adoption of a definite attitude must, of course, be postponed until the German Government, on the basis of further communication from the American Government, is in a position to see what obligations the British Government, on its side, is prepared to assume.

FULL TEXT OF IDENTIC NOTES SENT BY THE UNITED STATES
TO THE BRITISH AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS PROTESTING
AGAINST THE INVASION OF NEUTRAL RIGHTS INVOLVED IN
A BRITISH ORDER IN COUNCIL ESTABLISHING A LONG-RANGE
BLOCKADE OF EUROPEAN WATERS.

Washington, March 30, 1915.

The Secretary of State to the American Ambassador at London:

You are instructed to deliver the following to his Majesty's Government in reply to your numbers 1,795 and 1,798 of March 15: The Government of the United States has given careful consideration to the subjects treated in the British notes of March 13 and March 15, and to the British Order in Council of the latter date.

These communications contain matters of grave importance to neutral nations. They appear to menace their rights of trade and intercourse, not only with belligerents but also with one another. They call for frank comment in order that misunderstandings may be avoided. The Government of the United States deems it its duty, therefore, speaking in the sincerest spirit of friendship, to make its own view and position with regard to them unmistakably clear.

The Order in Council of the 15th of March would constitute, were its provisions to be actually carried into effect as they stand, a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce within the whole European area, and an almost unqualified denial of the sovereign rights of the nations now at peace.

The Government takes it for granted that there can be no question what those rights are. A nation's sovereignty over its own ships and citizens under its own flag on the high seas in time of peace is, of course, unlimited, and that sovereignty suffers no diminution in time of war, except in so far as the practice and consent of civilized nations has limited it, by the recognition of certain now clearly determined rights, which it is conceded may be exercised by nations which are at war.

A belligerent nation has been conceded the right of visit and search, and the right of capture and condemnation if upon examination a neutral vessel is found to be engaged in unneutral service or to be carrying contraband of war intended for the enemy's government or armed forces.

It has been conceded the right to establish and maintain a blockade of an enemy's ports and coasts, and to capture and condemn any vessel taken in trying to break the blockade. It is even conceded the right to detain and take to its own ports for judicial examination all vessels which it suspects for substantial reasons to be engaged in unneutral or contraband service and to condemn them if the suspicion is sustained. But such rights, long clearly defined both in doctrine and practice, have hitherto been held to be the only permissible exceptions to the principle of universal quality of sovereignty on the high seas as between belligerents and nations not engaged in war.

It is confidently assumed that his Majesty's Government will not deny that it is a rule sanctioned by general practice that, even though a blockade should exist and the doctrine of contraband as to unblockaded territory be rigidly enforced, innocent shipments may be freely transported to and from the United States through neutral countries to belligerent territory, without being subject to the penalties of contraband traffic or breach of blockade, much less to detention, requisition, or confiscation.

Moreover, the rules of the Declaration of Paris of 1856—among them that free ships make free goods—will hardly at this day be disputed by the signatories of that solemn agreement.

His Majesty's Government, like the Government of the United States, have often and explicitly held that these rights represent the best usage of warfare in the dealings of belligerents with neutrals at sea. In this connection I desire to direct attention to the opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States in the case of the *Peterhof*, which arose out of the Civil War, and to the fact that that opinion was unanimously sustained in the award of the Arbitration Commission of 1871, to which the case was presented at the request of Great Britain. From that time to the Declaration of London of 1909, adopted with

modifications by the Order in Council of the 23d of October last, these rights have not been seriously questioned by the British Government. And no claim on the part of Great Britain of any justification for interfering with the clear rights of the United States and its citizens as neutrals could be admitted. To admit it would be to assume an attitude of unneutrality toward the present enemies of Great Britain, which would be obviously inconsistent with the solemn obligations of this Government in the present circumstances. And for Great Britain to make such a claim would be for her to abandon and set at naught the principles for which she has consistently and earnestly contended in other times and circumstances.

The note of his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which accompanies the Order in Council, and which bears the same date, notifies the Government of the United States of the establishment of a blockade which is, if defined by the terms of the Order in Council, to include all the coasts and ports of Germany and every port of possible access to enemy territory. But the novel and quite unprecedented feature of that blockade, if we are to assume it to be properly so defined, is that it embraces many neutral ports and coasts, bars access to them, and subjects all neutral ships seeking to approach them to the same suspicion that would attach to them were they bound for the ports of the enemies of Great Britain, and to unusual risks and penalties.

It is manifest that such limitations, risks, and liabilities placed upon the ships of a neutral power on the seas, beyond the right of visit and search and the right to prevent the shipment of contraband already referred to, are a distinct invasion of the sovereign rights of the nation whose ships, trade, or commerce is interfered with.

The Government of the United States is, of course, not oblivious to the great changes which have occurred in the conditions and means of naval warfare since the rules hitherto governing legal blockade were formulated. It might be ready to admit that the old form of "close" blockade, with its cordon of ships in the immediate offing of the blockaded ports is no longer practicable in the face of an enemy possessing the means and opportunity to make an effective defense by the use of submarines, mines and air craft; but it can hardly be maintained that, whatever form of effective blockade may be made use of, it is impossible to conform at least to the spirit and principles of the established rules of war.

If the necessities of the case should seem to render it imperative that the cordon of blockading vessels be extended across the approaches to any neighboring neutral port or country it would seem clear that it would still be easily practicable to comply with the well-recognized and reasonable prohibition of international law against the blockading of neutral ports, by according free admission and exit to all lawful traffic with neutral ports through the blockading cordon.

This traffic would, of course, include all outward-bound traffic from the neutral country and all inward-bound traffic to the neutral country, except contraband in transit to the enemy. Such procedure need not conflict in any respect with the rights of the belligerent maintaining the blockade, since the right would remain with the blockading vessels to visit and search all ships either entering or leaving the neutral territory which they were in fact, but not of right, investing.

The Government of the United States notes that in the Order in Council his Majesty's Government gives as their reason for entering upon a course of action, which they are aware is without precedent in modern warfare, the necessity they conceive themselves to have been placed under to retaliate upon their enemies for measures of a similar nature, which the latter have announced it their intention to adopt and which they have to some extent adopted, but the Government of the United States, recalling the principles upon which his Majesty's Government have hitherto been scrupulous to act, interprets this as merely a reason for certain extraordinary activities on the part of his Majesty's naval forces and not as an excuse for or prelude to any unlawful action.

If the course pursued by the present enemies of Great Britain should prove to be in fact tainted by illegality and disregard of the principles of war sanctioned by enlightened nations, it cannot be supposed, and this Government does not for a moment suppose, that his Majesty's Government would wish the same taint to attach to their own actions or would cite such illegal acts as in any sense or degree a justification for similar practices on their part in so far as they affect neutral rights.

It is thus that the Government of the United States interprets the language of the note of his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

which accompanies the copy of the Order in Council, which was handed to the Ambassador of the United States by the Government in London and by him transmitted to Washington.

This Government notes with gratification that "wide discretion is afforded to the prize court in dealing with the trade of neutrals in such manner as may in the circumstances be deemed just, and that full provision is made to facilitate claims by persons interested in any goods placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court under the order." That "the effect of the Order in Council is to confer certain powers upon executive officers of his Majesty's Government," and that "the extent to which these powers will be actually exercised, and the degree of severity with which the measure of blockade authorized will be put into operation, are matters which will depend on the administrative orders issued by the Government and the decisions of the authorities especially charged with the duty of dealing with individual ships and cargoes, according to the merits of each case."

The Government further notes with equal satisfaction the declaration of the British Government that "the instructions to be issued by his Majesty's Government to the fleet and to the customs officials and executive committees concerned will impress upon them the duty of acting with the utmost dispatch consistent with the object in view, and of showing in every case such consideration for neutrals as may be compatible with that object, which is succinctly stated, to establish a blockade to prevent vessels from carrying goods for or coming from Germany.

In view of these assurances formally given to this Government it is confidently expected that the extensive powers conferred by the Order in Council on the executive officers of the crown will be restricted by orders issued by the Government, directing the exercise of their discretionary powers in such a manner as to modify in practical application those provisions of the Order in Council which, if strictly enforced, would violate neutral rights and interrupt legitimate trade. Relying on the faithful performance of these voluntary assurances by his Majesty's Government, the United States takes it for granted that the approach of American merchantmen to neutral ports situated upon the long line of coast affected by the Order in Council will not be interfered with when it is known that they do not carry goods which are contraband of war, or goods destined to or proceeding from ports within the belligerent territory affected.

The Government of the United States assumes with the greater confidence that his Majesty's Government will thus adjust their practice to the recognized rules of international law, because it is manifest that the British Government have adopted an extraordinary method of "stopping cargoes destined for or coming from the enemy's territory," which, owing to the existence of unusual conditions in modern warfare at sea, it will be difficult to restrict to the limits which have been heretofore required by the law of nations. Though the area of operations is confined to "European waters including the Mediterranean," so great an area of the high seas is covered, and the cordon of ships is so distant from the territory affected that neutral vessels must necessarily pass through the blockading force in order to reach important neutral ports which Great Britain, as a belligerent, has not the legal right to blockade, and which, therefore, it is presumed she has no intention of claiming to blockade.

The Scandinavian and Danish ports, for example, are open to American trade. They are also free, so far as the actual enforcement of the Order in Council is concerned, to carry on trade with German Baltic ports, although it is an essential element of blockade that it bear with equal severity upon all neutrals.

This Government, therefore, infers that the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war, engaged in maintaining the so-called blockade, will be instructed to avoid an enforcement of the proposed measures of non-intercourse in such a way as to impose restrictions upon neutral trade more burdensome than those which have been regarded as inevitable, when the ports of a belligerent are actually blockaded by the ships of its enemy.

The possibilities of serious interruption of American trade under the Order in Council are so many, and the methods proposed are so unusual, and seem liable to constitute so great an impediment and embarrassment to neutral commerce, that the Government of the United States, if the Order in Council is strictly enforced, apprehends many interferences with its legitimate trade which will impose upon his Majesty's Government heavy responsibilities for acts

of the British authorities clearly subversive of the rights of neutral nations on the high seas. It is, therefore, expected that his Majesty's Government, having considered these possibilities, will take the steps necessary to avoid them, and, in the event that they should unhappily occur, will be prepared to make full reparation for every act which under the rules of international law constitutes a violation of neutral rights.

As stated in its communication of Oct. 22, 1914, "this Government will insist that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States, irrespective of the provisions of the Declaration of London, and that this Government reserves to itself the right to enter a protest of demand in each case in which those rights and duties so defined are violated or their free exercise interfered with by the authorities of the British Government."

In conclusion, you will reiterate to his Majesty's Government that this statement of the view of the Government of the United States is made in the most friendly spirit, and in accordance with the uniform candor which has characterized the relations of the two Governments in the past, and which has been in large measure the foundation of the peace and amity existing between the two nations without interruption for a century.

BRYAN.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE TO GERMANY, FOLLOWING THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH STEAMSHIP LUSITANIA WITH LOSS OF AMERICAN LIVES.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, May 13, 1915.

The Secretary of State to the American Ambassador at Berlin:

Please call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs and after reading to him this communication leave with him a copy.

In view of recent acts of the German authorities in violation of American rights on the high seas, which culminated in the torpedoing and sinking of the British steamship *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, by which over 100 American citizens lost their lives, it is clearly wise and desirable that the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government should come to a clear and full understanding as to the grave situation which has resulted.

The sinking of the British passenger steamer *Falaba* by a German submarine on March 28, through which Leon C. Thrasher, an American citizen, was drowned; the attack on April 28 on the American vessel *Cushing* by a German aeroplane; the torpedoing on May 1 of the American vessel *Gulflight* by a German submarine, as a result of which two or more American citizens met their death; and, finally, the torpedoing and sinking of the steamship *Lusitania*, constitute a series of events which the Government of the United States has observed with growing concern, distress, and amazement.

Recalling the humane and enlightened attitude hitherto assumed by the Imperial German Government in matters of international right, and particularly with regard to the freedom of the seas; having learned to recognize the German views and the German influence in the field of international obligation as always engaged upon the side of justice and humanity; and having understood the instructions of the Imperial German Government to its naval commanders to be upon the same plane of humane action prescribed by the naval codes of other nations, the Government of the United States was loath to believe—it cannot now bring itself to believe—that these acts, so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices, and the spirit of modern warfare, could have the countenance or sanction of that great Government. It feels it to be its duty, therefore, to address the Imperial German Government concerning them with the utmost frankness and in the earnest hope that it is not mistaken in expecting action on the part of the Imperial German Government, which will correct the unfortunate impressions which have been created, and vindicate once more the position of that Government with regard to the sacred freedom of the seas.

The Government of the United States has been apprised that the Imperial German Government considered themselves to be obliged by the extraordinary circumstances of the present war and the measures adopted by their adversaries

in seeking to cut Germany off from all commerce, to adopt methods of retaliation which go much beyond the ordinary methods of warfare at sea, in the proclamation of a war zone from which they have warned neutral ships to keep away. This Government has already taken occasion to inform the Imperial German Government that it cannot admit the adoption of such measures or such a warning of danger to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality, and that it must hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It assumes, on the contrary, that the Imperial Government accept, as of course, the rule that the lives of non-combatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unarmed merchantman, and recognize also, as all other nations do, the obligation to take the usual precaution of visit and search to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag.

The Government of the United States, therefore, desires to call the attention of the Imperial German Government with the utmost earnestness to the fact that the objection to their present method of attack against the trade of their enemies lies in the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and, if they cannot put a prize crew on board of her, they cannot sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats. These facts it is understood the Imperial German Government frankly admit. We are informed that in the instances of which we have spoken time enough for even that poor measure of safety was not given, and in at least two of the cases cited not so much as a warning was received. Manifestly, submarines cannot be used against merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity.

American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be the well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence of their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights.

There was recently published in the newspapers of the United States, I regret to inform the Imperial German Government, a formal warning, purporting to come from the Imperial German Embassy at Washington, addressed to the people of the United States, and stating, in effect, that any citizen of the United States who exercised his right of free travel upon the seas would do so at his peril if his journey should take him within the zone of waters within which the Imperial German Navy was using submarines against the commerce of Great Britain and France, notwithstanding the respectful but very earnest protest of this Government, the Government of the United States. I do not refer to this for the purpose of calling the attention of the Imperial German Government at this time to the surprising irregularity of a communication from the Imperial German Embassy at Washington addressed to the people of the United States through the newspapers, but only for the purpose of pointing out that no warning that an unlawful and inhumane act will be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation for that act or as an abatement of the responsibility for its commission.

Long acquainted as this Government has been with the character of the Imperial Government, and with the high principles of equity by which they have in the past been actuated and guided, the Government of the United States cannot believe that the commanders of the vessels which committed these acts of lawlessness did so except under a misapprehension of the orders issued by the Imperial German naval authorities. It takes it for granted that, at least within the practical possibilities of every such case, the commanders even of submarines were expected to do nothing that would involve the lives of non-combatants or the safety of neutral ships, even at the cost of

failing of their object of capture or destruction. It confidently expects, therefore, that the Imperial German Government will disavow the acts of which the Government of the United States complains; that they will make reparation so far as reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure, and that they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare for which the Imperial German Government have in the past so wisely and so firmly contended.

The Government and people of the United States look to the Imperial German Government for just, prompt, and enlightened action in this vital matter with the greater confidence, because the United States and Germany are bound together not only by special ties of friendship, but also by the explicit stipulations of the Treaty of 1828, between the United States and the Kingdom of Prussia.

Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligations, if no loss of life results, cannot justify or excuse a practice the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks.

The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

BRYAN.

PROCLAMATION

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Exposition to Commemorate the Achievements of the Negro Race During Fifty Years of Freedom.]

A national exposition in commemoration of the achievements of the negro race during the last fifty years will be held in Richmond, Virginia, July fifth to twenty-fifth, 1915. The occasion has been recognized as of national importance by Congress through an appropriation of \$55,000 to aid in its promotion and consummation. This sum is being expended by the terms of the appropriation under the direction of the Governor of Virginia. The exposition is under the auspices of the Negro Historical and Industrial Association. The action of Congress in this matter indicates very happily the desire of the nation, as well as of the people of Virginia, to encourage the Negro in his efforts to solve his industrial problem. The National Negro Exposition is designed to demonstrate his progress in the last fifty years and to emphasize his opportunities. As President of the United States, I bespeak the active interest of the nation in the exposition and trust that every facility will be extended to the leaders whose earnest work has made the undertaking possible.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this first day of July in the year
of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifteen and
[SEAL.] of the independence of the United States of America the
one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

NEUTRALITY PROCLAMATIONS

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Italy and Austria-Hungary.]

Whereas a state of war unhappily exists between Italy and Austria-Hungary; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—Ed.]

Done at the city of Washington this twenty-fourth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fif-
[SEAL.] teen and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and thirty-ninth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

W. J. BRYAN, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Italy and Turkey.]

Whereas a state of war unhappily exists between Italy and Turkey; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—Ed.]

Done at the city of Washington this twenty-third day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and
[SEAL.] fifteen and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fortieth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

ADDRESSES

[In Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., May 10, 1915, before a Gathering of 4,000 Naturalized American Citizens.]

MR. MAYOR, FELLOW CITIZENS: It warms my heart that you should give me such a reception; but it is not of myself that I wish to think to-night, but of those who have just become citizens of the United States.

This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women out of other lands. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great Nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God—certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, "We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that whatever the speech there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice." And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you—bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave behind in them. I certainly would not be one even to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the nation of his origin—these things are very sacred and ought not to be put out of our hearts—but it is one thing to love the place where you were born and it is another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go. You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans. You cannot become thorough Americans if you think

of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.

My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellow-men. He has lost the touch and ideal of America, for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase. We came to America, either ourselves or in the persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, to make them see finer things than they had seen before, to get rid of the things that divide and to make sure of the things that unite. It was but an historical accident no doubt that this great country was called the "United States"; yet I am very thankful that it has that word "United" in its title, and the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest in this great Union is striking at its very heart.

It is a very interesting circumstance to me, in thinking of those of you who have just sworn allegiance to this great Government, that you were drawn across the ocean by some beckoning finger of hope, by some belief, by some vision of a new kind of justice, by some expectation of a better kind of life. No doubt you have been disappointed in some of us. Some of us are very disappointing. No doubt you have found that justice in the United States goes only with a pure heart and a right purpose as it does everywhere else in the world. No doubt what you found here did not seem touched for you, after all, with the complete beauty of the ideal which you had conceived beforehand. But remember this: If we had grown at all poor in the ideal, you brought some of it with you. A man does not go out to seek the thing that is not in him. A man does not hope for the thing that he does not believe in, and if some of us have forgotten what America believed in, you, at any rate, imported in your own hearts a renewal of the belief. That is the reason that I, for one, make you welcome. If I have in any degree forgotten what America was intended for, I will thank God if you will remind me. I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man that does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise. Just because you brought dreams with you, America is more likely to realize

dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you came expecting us to be better than we are.

See, my friends, what that means. It means that Americans must have a consciousness different from the consciousness of every other nation in the world. I am not saying this with even the slightest thought of criticism of other nations. You know how it is with a family. A family gets centered on itself if it is not careful and is less interested in the neighbors than it is in its own members. So a nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas, America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind. The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.

You have come into this great Nation voluntarily seeking something that we have to give, and all that we have to give is this: We cannot exempt you from work. No man is exempt from work anywhere in the world. We cannot exempt you from the strife and the heartbreaking burden of the struggle of the day—that is common to mankind everywhere; we cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry. We can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried. That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

When I was asked, therefore, by the Mayor and the committee that accompanied him to come up from Washington to meet this great company of newly admitted citizens, I could not decline the invitation. I ought not to be away from Washington, and yet I feel that it has renewed my spirit as an American to be here. In Washington men tell you so many things every day that are not so, and I like to come and stand in the presence of a great body of my fellow-citizens, whether they have been my fellow-citizens a long time or a short time, and drink, as it were, out of the common fountains with them and go back feeling what you have so generously given me—the sense of your support and of the living vitality in your hearts of the great ideals which have made America the hope of the world.

[At a Luncheon Tendered to Him by the Mayor's Committee at the Hotel Biltmore, New York, N. Y., May 17, 1915.]

MR. MAYOR, MR. SECRETARY, ADMIRAL FLETCHER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE FLEET: This is not an occasion upon which, it seems to me, it

would be wise for me to make many remarks, but I would deprive myself of a great gratification if I did not express my pleasure in being here, my gratitude for the splendid reception which has been accorded me as the representative of the Nation, and my profound interest in the Navy of the United States. That is an interest with which I was apparently born, for it began when I was a youngster and has ripened with my knowledge of the affairs and policies of the United States.

I think it is a natural, instinctive judgment of the people of the United States that they express their power most appropriately in an efficient navy, and their interest in their ships is partly, I believe, because that Navy is expected to express their character, not within our own borders where that character is understood, but outside our borders where it is hoped we may occasionally touch others with some slight vision of what America stands for.

Before I speak of the Navy of the United States, I want to take advantage of the first public opportunity I have had to speak of the Secretary of the Navy, to express my confidence and my admiration, and to say that he has my unqualified support. For I have counseled with him in intimate fashion; I know how sincerely he has it at heart that everything that the Navy does and handles should be done and handled as the people of the United States wish it handled. Efficiency is something more than organization. Efficiency runs to the extent of lifting the ideals of a service above every personal interest. So when I speak my support of the Secretary of the Navy I am merely speaking my support of what I know every true lover of the Navy to desire and to purpose; for the Navy of the United States is, as I have said, a body specially entrusted with the ideals of America.

I like to imagine in my thought this idea: These quiet ships lying in the river have no suggestion of bluster about them, no intimation of aggression. They are commanded by men thoughtful of the duty of citizens as well as the duty of officers, men acquainted with the traditions of the great service to which they belong, men who know by touch with the people of the United States what sort of purposes they ought to entertain and what sort of discretion they ought to exercise in order to use those engines of force as engines to promote the interests of humanity.

The interesting and inspiring thing about America, gentlemen, is that she asks nothing for herself except what she has a right to ask for humanity itself. We want no nation's property. We mean to question no nation's honor. We do not wish to stand selfishly in the way of the development of any nation. We want nothing that we cannot get by our own legitimate enterprise and by the inspiration of our own example; and, standing for these things, it is not preten-

sion on our part to say that we are privileged to stand for what every nation would wish to stand for, and speak for those things which all humanity must desire.

When I think of the flag which those ships carry, the only touch of color about them, the only thing that moves as if it had a subtle spirit in it in their solid structure, it seems to me that I see alternate strips of parchment upon which are written the rights of liberty and justice, and stripes of blood spilt to vindicate those rights; and, then, in the corner a prediction of the blue serene into which every nation may swim which stands for these things.

The mission of America is the only thing that a sailor or a soldier should think about. He has nothing to do with the formulation of her policy. He is to support her policy whatever it is; but he is to support her policy in the spirit of herself, and the strength of our polity is that we who for the time being administer the affairs of this Nation do not originate her spirit. We attempt to embody it; we attempt to realize it in action; we are dominated by it, we do not dictate it.

So with every man in arms who serves the Nation; he stands and waits to do the thing which the Nation desires. Those who represent America sometimes seem to forget her programmes, but the people never forget them. It is as startling as it is touching to see how whenever you touch a principle you touch the hearts of the people of the United States. They listen to your debates of policy, they determine which party they will prefer to power, they choose and prefer as between men, but their real affection, their real force, their real irresistible momentum is for the ideas which men embody. I never go on the streets of a great city without feeling that somehow I do not confer elsewhere than on the streets with the great spirit of the people themselves, going about their business, attending to the things which immediately concern them, and yet carrying a treasure at their hearts all the while, ready to be stirred not only as individuals but as members of a great union of hearts that constitutes a patriotic people. This sight in the river touches me merely as a symbol of all this; and it quickens the pulse of every man who realizes these things to have anything to do with them. When a crisis occurs in this country, gentlemen, it is as if you put your hand on the pulse of a dynamo, it is as if the things that you were in connection with were spiritually bred, as if you had nothing to do with them except, if you listen truly, to speak the things that you hear.

These things now brood over the river; this spirit now moves with the men who represent the Nation in the Navy; these things will move upon the waters in the maneuvers—no threat lifted against any man, against any nation, against any interest, but just a great solemn

evidence that the force of America is the force of moral principle, that there is nothing else that she loves, and that there is nothing else for which she will contend.

[At the Pan-American Financial Conference, Pan-American Building, Washington, D. C., May 24, 1915.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, GENTLEMEN OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The part that falls to me this morning is a very simple one, but a very delightful one. It is to bid you a very hearty welcome indeed to this conference. The welcome is the more hearty because we are convinced that a conference like this will result in the things that we most desire. I am sure that those who have this conference in charge have already made plain to you its purpose and its spirit. Its purpose is to draw the American Republics together by bonds of common interest and of mutual understanding; and we comprehend, I hope, just what the meaning of that is. There can be no sort of union of interest if there is a purpose of exploitation by any one of the parties to a great conference of this sort. The basis of successful commercial intercourse is common interest, not selfish interest. It is an actual interchange of services and of values: it is based upon reciprocal relations and not selfish relations. It is based upon those things upon which all successful economic intercourse must be based, because selfishness breeds suspicion; suspicion, hostility; and hostility, failure. We are not, therefore, trying to make use of each other, but we are trying to be of use to one another.

It is very surprising to me, it is even a source of mortification, that a conference like this should have been so long delayed, that it should never have occurred before, that it should have required a crisis of the world to show the Americas how truly they were neighbors to one another. If there is any one happy circumstance, gentlemen, arising out of the present distressing condition of the world, it is that it has revealed us to one another: it has shown us what it means to be neighbors. And I cannot help harboring the hope, the very high hope, that by this commerce of minds with one another, as well as commerce in goods, we may show the world in part the path to peace. It would be a very great thing if the Americas could add to the distinction which they already wear this of showing the way to peace, to permanent peace.

The way to peace for us, at any rate, is manifest. It is the kind of rivalry which does not involve aggression. It is the knowledge that men can be of the greatest service to one another, and nations of the greatest service to one another, when the jealousy between them is merely a jealousy of excellence, and when the basis of their

intercourse is friendship. There is only one way in which we wish to take advantage of you and that is by making better goods, by doing the things that we seek to do for each other better, if we can, than you do them, and so spurring you on, if we might, by so handsome a jealousy as that to excel us. I am so keenly aware that the basis of personal friendship is this competition in excellence, that I am perfectly certain that this is the only basis for the friendship of nations,—this handsome rivalry, this rivalry in which there is no dislike, this rivalry in which there is nothing but the hope of a common elevation in great enterprises which we can undertake in common.

There is one thing that stands in our way among others—for you are more conversant with the circumstances than I am; the thing I have chiefly in mind is the physical lack of means of communication, the lack of vehicles,—the lack of ships, the lack of established routes of trade,—the lack of those things which are absolutely necessary if we are to have true commercial and intimate commercial relations with one another; and I am perfectly clear in my judgment that if private capital cannot soon enter upon the adventure of establishing these physical means of communication, the government must undertake to do so. We cannot indefinitely stand apart and need each other for the lack of what can easily be supplied, and if one instrumentality cannot supply it, then another must be found which will supply it. We cannot know each other unless we see each other; we cannot deal with each other unless we communicate with each other. So soon as we communicate and are upon a familiar footing of intercourse, we shall understand one another, and the bonds between the Americas will be such bonds that no influence that the world may produce in the future will ever break them.

If I am selfish for America, I at least hope that my selfishness is enlightened. The selfishness that hurts the other party is not enlightened selfishness. If I were acting upon a mere ground of selfishness, I would seek to benefit the other party and so tie him to myself; so that even if you were to suspect me of selfishness, I hope you will also suspect me of intelligence and of knowing the only safe way for the establishment of the things which we covet, as well as the establishment of the things which we desire and which we would feel honored if we could earn and win.

I have said these things because they will perhaps enable you to understand how far from formal my welcome to this body is. It is a welcome from the heart, it is a welcome from the head; it is a welcome inspired by what I hope are the highest ambitions of those who live in these two great continents, who seek to set an example to the world in freedom of institutions, freedom of trade, and intelligence of mutual service.

[At G. A. R. Celebration of the Semi-centennial of the Grand Parade of the Union Troops Returning North in 1865, held at Camp Emery, in Washington, D. C., Sept. 27, 1915.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, GENTLEMEN OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I bid you a very cordial welcome to the capital of the Nation, and yet I feel that it is not necessary to bid you welcome here, because you know that the welcome is always warm and always waiting for you.

One could not stand in this presence without many moving thoughts. It is a singular thing that men of a single generation should have witnessed what you have witnessed in the crowded fifty years which you celebrate to-night. You took part when you were young men in a struggle the meaning of which, I dare say, you thought would not be revealed during your lifetime, and yet more has happened in the making of this Nation in your lifetime than has ever happened in the making of any other nation in the lifetime of a dozen generations.

The Nation in which you now live is not the Nation for whose union you fought. You have seen many things come about which have made this Nation one of the representative nations of the world with regard to the modern spirit of that world, and you have the satisfaction, which I dare say few soldiers have ever had, of looking back upon a war absolutely unique in this, that instead of destroying it healed, that instead of making a permanent division it made a permanent union. You have seen something more interesting than that, because there is a sense in which the things of the heart are more interesting than the things of the mind. This Nation was from the beginning a spiritual enterprise, and you have seen the spirits of the two once divided sections of this country absolutely united. A war which seemed as if it had the seed of every kind of bitterness in it has seen a single generation put bitterness absolutely out of its heart, and you feel, as I am sure the men who fought against you feel, that you were comrades even then, though you did not know it, and that now you know that you are comrades in a common love for a country which you are equally eager to serve.

This is a miracle of the spirit, so far as national history is concerned. This is one of the very few wars in which in one sense everybody engaged may take pride. Some wars are to be regretted; some wars mar the annals of history; but some wars, contrasted with those, make those annals distinguished, show that the spirit of man sometimes springs to great enterprises that are even greater than his own mind had conceived.

So it seems to me that, standing in a presence like this, no man, whether he be in the public service or in the ranks of private citizens

merely, can fail to feel the challenge to his own heart, can fail to feel the challenge to a new consecration to the things that we all believe in. The thing that sinks deepest in my heart as I try to realize the memories that must be crowding upon you is this: You set the Nation free for that great career of development, of unhampered development, which the world has witnessed since the Civil War; but for my own part I would not be proud of the extraordinary physical development of this country, of its extraordinary development in material wealth and financial power, did I not believe that the people of the United States wished all of this power devoted to ideal ends. There have been other nations as rich as we; there have been other nations as powerful; there have been other nations as spirited; but I hope we shall never forget that we created this Nation, not to serve ourselves, but to serve mankind.

I love this country because it is my home, but every man loves his home. It does not suffice that I should be attached to it because it contains the places and the persons whom I love—because it contains the threads of my own life. That does not suffice for patriotic duty. I should also love it, and I hope I do love it, as a great instrument for the uplift of mankind; and what you, gentlemen, have to remind us of as you look back through a lifetime to the great war in which you took part is that you fought that this instrument meant for the service of mankind should not be impaired either in its material or in its spiritual power.

I hope I may say without even an implication of criticism upon any other great people in the world that it has always seemed to me that the people of the United States wished to be regarded as devoted to the promotion of particular principles of human right. The United States were founded, not to provide free homes, but to assert human rights. This flag meant a great enterprise of the human spirit. Nobody, no large bodies of men, in the time that flag was first set up believed with a very firm belief in the efficacy of democracy. Do you realize that only so long ago as the time of the American Revolution democracy was regarded as an experiment in the world and we were regarded as rash experimenters? But we not only believed in it; we showed that our belief was well founded and that a nation as powerful as any in the world could be erected upon the will of the people; that, indeed, there was a power in such a nation that dwelt in no other nation unless also in that other nation the spirit of the people prevailed.

Democracy is the most difficult form of government, because it is the form under which you have to persuade the largest number of persons to do anything in particular. But I think we were the more pleased to undertake it because it is difficult. Anybody can do what

is easy. We have shown that we could do what was hard, and the pride that ought to dwell in your hearts to-night is that you saw to it that that experiment was brought to the day of its triumphant demonstration. We now know, and the world knows, that the thing that we then undertook, rash as it seemed, has been practicable, and that we have set up in the world a government maintained and promoted by the general conscience and the general conviction.

So I stand here not to welcome you to the Nation's capital as if I were your host but merely to welcome you to your own capital, because I am, and am proud to be, your servant. I hope I shall catch, as I hope we shall all catch, from the spirit of this occasion a new consecration to the high duties of American citizenship.

[In Old Census Building, Washington, D. C., Before Veterans of the G. A. R., in Annual Encampment, Sept. 28, 1915.]

It is a singular thing that men of a single generation should have witnessed what you have witnessed in the crowded fifty years which you celebrate to-night. You took part when you were young men in a struggle, the meaning of which, I dare say, you thought would not be revealed during your lifetime, and yet more has happened in the making of this nation in your lifetime than has ever happened in the making of any other nation in the lifetime of a dozen generations.

You have seen many things which have made this nation one of the representative nations of the world, with regard to the modern spirit of that world, and you have the satisfaction, which, I dare say, few soldiers have ever had, of looking back upon a war absolutely unique in this, that, instead of destroying, it has healed; that, instead of making a permanent division, it has made a permanent union.

This nation was from the beginning a spiritual enterprise, and you have seen the spirits of the two once-divided sections of this country absolutely united. A war which seemed as if it had the seed of every kind of bitterness in it has seen a single generation put bitterness absolutely out of its heart, and you feel, as I am sure the men who fought against you feel, that you were comrades even then, though you did not know it, and that now you know that you are comrades in a common love for a country which you are equally eager to serve.

This is a miracle of the spirit, so far as national history is concerned. This is one of the very few wars in which, in one sense, everybody engaged may take pride. Some wars are to be regretted, some wars mar the annals of history, but some wars, contrasted with those, make those annals distinguished and show that the spirit of man sometimes springs to great enterprises that are even greater than his own mind had conceived.

You set the nation free for that great career of development, of

unhampered development, which the world has witnessed since the civil war. But, for my part, I would not be proud of the extraordinary physical development of this country, of its extraordinary development in material wealth and financial power, did I not believe that the people of the United States wish all of this power devoted to ideal ends.

There have been other nations as rich as we, there have been other nations as powerful, there have been other nations as spirited; but I hope we shall never forget that we created this nation, not to serve ourselves, but to serve mankind.

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Nobody, no large bodies of men, at the time that flag was first set up, believed with a very firm belief in the efficacy of democracy. Do you realize that only so long ago as the time of the American Revolution democracy was regarded as an experiment in the world and we were regarded as rash experimenters? But we not only believed in it, we showed our belief was well founded, and that a nation as powerful as any in the world could be erected upon the will of the people; that, indeed, there was a power in such a nation that dwelt in no other nation, unless also in that other nation the spirit of the people prevailed.

We now know and the world knows that the thing that we then undertook, rash as it seemed, has been practicable, and that we have set up in the world a government maintained and promoted by the general conscience and the general conviction. So I stand here not to welcome you to the nation's capital as if I were your host, but merely to welcome you to your own capital, because I am, and am proud to be, your servant. I hope I shall catch, as I hope we all catch, from the spirit of this occasion a new consecration to the high duties of American citizenship.

[Before the Civilian Advisory Board of the Navy, at the White House, Washington, D. C., Oct. 7, 1915.]

There is very little that I can say to you, except to give you a very cordial welcome and to express my very great pleasure in this association of laymen with the Government. But I do want to say this:

I think the whole nation is convinced that we ought to be prepared, not for war, but for defense, and very adequately prepared, and that the preparation for defense is not merely a technical matter, that it

is not a matter that the Army and Navy alone can take care of, but a matter in which we must have the co-operation of the best brains and knowledge of the country, outside the official service of the Government, as well as inside.

For my part, I feel that it is only in the spirit of a true democracy that we get together to lend such voluntary aid, the sort of aid that comes from interest, from a knowledge of the varied circumstances that are involved in handling a nation.

I want you to feel, those of you who are coming to the assistance of the professional officers of the Government, that we have a very serious purpose, that we have not asked you to associate yourself with us except for a very definite and practical purpose—to get you to give us your best independent thoughts as to how we ought to make ready for any duty that may fall upon the nation.

I do not have to expound it to you; you know as well as I do the spirit of America. The spirit of America is one of peace, but one of independence. It is a spirit that is profoundly concerned with peace, because it can express itself best only in peace. It is the spirit of peace and good-will and of human freedom; but it is also the spirit of a nation that is self-conscious, that knows and loves its mission in the world and that knows that it must command the respect of the world.

So it seems to me that we are not working as those who would change anything of America, but only as those who would safeguard everything in America. I know that you will enter into conference with the officers of the Navy in that spirit and with that feeling, and it makes me proud, gentlemen, that the busy men of America—the men who stand at the front of their professions—should be willing in this way to associate themselves voluntarily with the Government in the task in which it needs all sorts of expert and serious advice.

Nothing ought to be done in this by any single group of persons; everything ought to be done by all of us, united together, and I welcome this association in the most serious and grateful spirit.

[Before the Daughters of the American Revolution, in Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, D. C., Oct. 11, 1915.]

There is a very great thrill to be had from the memories of the American Revolution, but the American Revolution was a beginning, not a consummation, and the duty laid upon us by that beginning is the duty of bringing the things then begun to a noble triumph of completion, for it seems to me that the peculiarity of patriotism in America is that it is not a mere sentiment. It is an active principle of conduct. It is something that was born into the world not to leave it, but to regenerate it. It is something that was born into the world

to replace systems that had preceded it, to bring them out upon a new plane of privilege.

The American Revolution was the birth of a nation, it was the creation of a great free Republic based upon traditions of personal liberty which heretofore had been confined to a single little island, but which it was purposed should spread to all mankind. And the singular fascination of American history is that it has been a process of constant re-creation, of making over again in each generation the thing which was conceived at first. You know how peculiarly necessary that has been in our case, because America has not grown by the mere multiplication of the original stock. It is easy to preserve tradition with continuity of blood; it is easy in a single family to remember the origins of the race and the purposes of its organization, but it is not so easy when that race is constantly being renewed and augmented from other sources, from stocks that did not carry or originate the same principles.

So from generation to generation strangers have had to be indoctrinated with the principles of the American family, and the wonder and the beauty of it all has been that the infection has been so generously easy, for the principles of liberty are united with the principles of hope. Every individual, as well as every nation, wishes to realize the best thing that is in him, the best thing that can be conceived out of the materials of which his spirit is constructed. It has happened in a way that I think fascinates the imagination that we have not only been augmented by additions from outside, but that we have been greatly stimulated by those additions.

Living in the easy prosperity of a free people, knowing that the sun had always been free to shine upon us and prosper our undertakings, we did not realize how hard the task of liberty is and how rare the privilege of liberty is, and men were drawn out of every climate and out of every race because of an irresistible attraction of their spirits to the American ideal. They thought of America as lifting, like that great statue, in the harbor of New York, a torch to light the pathway of men to the things that they desire, and men of all sorts and conditions struggled toward that light and came to our shores with an eager desire to realize it and a hunger for it such as some of us no longer felt, for we were as if we were satiated and sated and were indulging ourselves after a fashion that did not belong to the ascetic devotion of the early devotees of those great principles. So they came to remind us of what we had promised ourselves and through ourselves had promised mankind. All men came to us and said, "Where is the bread of life with which you promised to feed us, and have you partaken of it yourselves?"

For my part, I believe that the constant renewal of this people out of foreign stocks has been a constant source of reminder to this people of what the inducement was that was offered to men who would come and be of our number. Now we have come to a time of special stress and test. There never was a time when we needed more clearly to conserve the principles of our own patriotism than this present time. The rest of the world from which our politics were drawn seems for the time in the crucible, and no man can predict what will come out of that crucible. We stand apart unembroiled, conscious of our own principles, conscious of what we hope and purpose so far as our powers permit for the world at large, and it is necessary that we should consolidate the American principle. Every political action, every social action, should have for its object in America at this time to challenge the spirit of America; to ask that every man and woman who thinks first of America should rally to the standards of our life. There have been some among us who have not thought first of America, who have thought to use the might of America in some matter not of America's originative, and they have forgotten that the first duty of a nation is to express its principles in the action of the family of nations and not to seek to aid and abet any rival or contrary ideal.

Neutrality is a negative word. It is a word that does not express what America ought to feel. America has a heart, and that heart throbs with all sorts of intense sympathies, but America has schooled its heart to love the things that America believes in, and it ought to devote itself only to the things that America believes in, and, believing that America stands apart in its ideals, it ought not to allow itself to be drawn, so far as its heart is concerned, into anybody's quarrel. Not because it does not understand the quarrel, not because it does not in its head assess the merits of the controversy, but because America has promised the world to stand apart and maintain certain principles of action which are grounded in law and in justice. We are not trying to keep out of trouble, we are trying to preserve the foundations upon which peace can be rebuilt. Peace can be rebuilt only upon the ancient and accepted principles of international law, only upon those things which remind nations of their duties to each other and, deeper than that, of their duties to mankind and to humanity.

America has a great cause which is not confined to the American Continent. It is the cause of humanity itself. I do not mean in anything that I say to imply a judgment upon any nation or upon any policy, for my object here this afternoon is not to sit in judgment upon anybody but ourselves and to challenge you to assist all of us who are trying to make America conscious of nothing so much as

her own principles and her own duty. I look forward to the necessity in every political agitation in the years which are immediately at hand of calling upon every man to declare himself, where he stands. Is it America first or is it not? We ought to be very careful about some of the impressions that we are forming just now. There is too general an impression, I fear, that very large numbers of our fellow-citizens born in other lands have not entertained with sufficient intensity and affection the American ideal, but their numbers are not large. Those who would seek to represent them are very vocal, but they are not very influential. Some of the best stuff of America has come out of foreign lands, and some of the best stuff in America is in the men who are naturalized citizens of the United States.

I would not be afraid upon the test of "America first" to take a census of all the foreign-born citizens of the United States, for I know the vast majority of them came here because they believed in America, and their belief in America has made them better citizens than some people who were born in America. They can say that they have bought this privilege with a great price. They have left their homes, they have left their kindred, they have broken all the nearest and dearest ties of human life in order to come to a new land, take a new rootage, begin a new life, and so by self-sacrifice express their confidence in a new principle, whereas, it costs us nothing of these things. We were born into this privilege; we were rocked and cradled in it; we did nothing to create it, and it is, therefore, the greater duty on our part to do a great deal to enhance it and preserve it. I am not deceived as to the balance of opinion among the foreign-born citizens of the United States, but I am in a hurry to have an opportunity to have a line-up and let the men who are thinking first of other countries stand on one side—Biblically, it should be the left—and all those that are for America, first, last and all the time on the other side.

Now, you can do a great deal in this direction. When I was a college officer I used to be very much opposed to hazing, not because hazing is not wholesome, but because sophomores are poor judges. I remember a very dear friend of mine, a professor of ethics on the other side of the water, was asked if he thought it was ever justifiable to tell a lie. He said yes, he thought it was sometimes justifiable to lie, "but," he said, "it is so difficult to judge of the justification that I usually tell the truth." I think that ought to be the motto of the sophomore. There are freshmen who need to be hazed, but the need is to be judged by such nice tests that a sophomore is hardly old enough to determine. But the world can determine them. We are not freshmen at college, but we are con-

stantly hazed. I would a great deal rather be obliged to draw pepper up my nose than to observe the hostile glances of my neighbors. I would a great deal rather be beaten than ostracized. I would a great deal rather endure any sort of physical hardship if I might have the affection of my fellow-men. We constantly discipline our fellow-citizens by having an opinion about them. That is the sort of discipline we ought now to administer to everybody who is not to the very core of his heart an American. Just have an opinion about him and let him experience the atmospheric effects of that opinion. And I know of no body of persons comparable to a body of ladies for creating an atmosphere of opinion. I have myself in part yielded to the influence of that atmosphere, for it took me a long time to observe how I was going to vote in New Jersey.

So it has seemed to me that my privilege this afternoon was not merely a privilege of courtesy, but the real privilege of reminding you, for I am sure I am doing nothing more, of the great principles which we stand associated to promote. And I, for my part, rejoice that we belong to a country in which the whole business of government is so difficult. We do not take orders from anybody; it is a universal communication of conviction, the most subtle, delicate and difficult of processes. There is not a single individual's opinion that is not of some consequence in making up the grand total. And to be in this great co-operative effort is the most stimulating thing in the world. A man standing alone may well misdoubt his own judgment. He may mistrust his own intellectual processes; he may even wonder if his own heart leads him right in matters of public conduct; but if he finds his heart part of the great throb of a national life, there can be no doubt about it. If that is his happy circumstance, then he may know that he is part of one of the great forces of the world.

I would not feel any exhilaration in belonging to America if I did not feel that she was something more than a rich and powerful nation. I should not feel proud to be in some respects and for a little while her spokesman if I did not believe that there was something else than physical force behind her. I believe that the glory of America is that she is a great spiritual conception and that in the spirit of her institutions dwells not only her distinction but her power, and that the one thing that the world cannot permanently resist is the moral force of great and triumphant convictions.

[At Biltmore Hotel (New York) Banquet Celebrating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Manhattan Club, Nov. 5, 1915.]

MR. TOASTMASTER AND GENTLEMEN: I warmly felicitate the club upon the completion of fifty years of successful and interesting life.

Club life may be made to mean a great deal to those who know how to use it. I have no doubt that to a great many of you has come genuine stimulation in the associations of this place and that as the years have multiplied you have seen more and more the useful ends which may be served by organizations of this sort.

But I have not come to speak wholly of that, for there are others of your own members who can speak of the club with a knowledge and an intelligence which no one can have who has not been intimately associated with it. Men band themselves together for the sake of the association, no doubt, but also for something greater and deeper than that—because they are conscious of common interests lying outside their business occupations, because they are members of the same community and in frequent intercourse find mutual stimulation and a real maximum of vitality and power.

I shall assume that here around the dinner table on this memorial occasion our talk should properly turn to the wide and common interests which are most in our thoughts, whether they be the interests of the community or of the nation.

A year and a half ago our thought would have been almost altogether of great domestic questions. They are many and of vital consequence. We must and shall address ourselves to their solution with diligence, firmness and self-possession, notwithstanding we find ourselves in the midst of a world disturbed by great disaster and ablaze with terrible war; but our thought is now inevitably of new things about which formerly we gave ourselves little concern.

We are thinking now chiefly of our relations with the rest of the world—not our commercial relations—about those we have thought and planned always—but about our political relations, our duties as an individual and independent force in the world—to ourselves, our neighbors and the world itself.

Our principles are well known. It is not necessary to avow them again. We believe in political liberty and founded our great Government to obtain it, the liberty of men and of peoples—of men to choose their own lives and of people to choose their own allegiance.

Our ambition, also, all the world has knowledge of. It is not only to be free and prosperous ourselves, but also to be the friend and thoughtful partisan of those who are free or who desire freedom the world over.

If we have had aggressive purposes and covetous ambitions, they were the fruit of our thoughtless youth as a nation and we have put them aside. We shall, I confidently believe, never again take another foot of territory by conquest.

We shall never in any circumstances seek to make an independent people subject to our dominion; because we believe, we passionately

believe, in the right of every people to choose their own allegiance and be free of masters altogether. For ourselves we wish nothing but the full liberty of self-development; and with ourselves in this great matter we associate all the peoples of our own hemisphere.

We wish not only for the United States but for them the fullest freedom of independent growth and of action, for we know that throughout this hemisphere the same aspirations are everywhere being worked out, under diverse conditions but with the same impulse and ultimate object.

All this is very clear to us and will, I confidently predict, become more and more clear to the whole world as the great processes of the future unfold themselves. It is with a full consciousness of such principles and such ambitions that we are asking ourselves at the present time what our duty is with regard to the armed force of the nation. Within a year we have witnessed what we did not believe possible—a great European conflict involving many of the greatest nations of the world. The influences of a great war are everywhere in the air. All Europe is embattled.

Force everywhere speaks out with a loud and imperious voice in a titanic struggle of governments, and from one end of our own dear country to the other men are asking one another what our own force is, how far we are prepared to maintain ourselves against any interference with our national action or development.

In no man's mind, I am sure, is there even raised the question of the wilful use of force on our part against any nation or any people. No matter what military or naval force the United States might develop, statesmen throughout the whole world might rest assured that we were gathering that force, not for attack in any quarter, not for aggression of any kind, not for the satisfaction of any political or international ambition, but merely to make sure of our own security.

We have it in mind to be prepared, not for war, but only for defense; and with the thought constantly in our minds that the principles we hold most dear can be achieved by the slow processes of history only in the kindly and wholesome atmosphere of peace, and not by the use of hostile force. The mission of America in the world is essentially a mission of peace and good will among men. She has become the home and asylum of men of all creeds and races. Within her hospitable borders they have found homes and congenial associations and freedom and a wide and cordial welcome, and they have become part of the bone and sinew and spirit of America itself. America has been made up out of the nations of the world and is the friend of the nations of the world.

But we feel justified in preparing ourselves to vindicate our right to independent and unmolested action by making the force that is in us ready for assertion.

And we know that we can do this in a way that will be itself an illustration of the American spirit. In accordance with our American traditions, we want and shall work for only an army adequate to the constant and legitimate uses of times of international peace.

But we do want to feel that there is a great body of citizens who have received at least the most rudimentary and necessary forms of military training; that they will be ready to form themselves into a fighting force at the call of the nation; and that the nation has the munitions and supplies with which to equip them without delay should it be necessary to call them into action. We wish to supply them with the training they need, and we think we can do so without calling them at any time too long away from their civilian pursuits.

It is with this idea, with this conception in mind that the plan had been made which it will be my privilege to lay before the Congress at its next session.

That plan calls for only such an increase in the regular army of the United States as experience has proved to be required for the performance of the necessary duties of the army in the Philippines, in Hawaii, in Porto Rico, upon the borders of the United States, at the coast fortifications and at the military posts of the interior.

For the rest, it calls for the training within the next three years of a force of 400,000 citizen soldiers to be raised in annual contingents of 133,000, who would be asked to enlist for three years with the colors and three years on furlough, but who, during their three years of enlistment with the colors, would not be organized as a standing force, but would be expected merely to undergo intensive training for a very brief period of each year.

Their training would take place in immediate association with the organized units of the regular army. It would have no touch of the amateur about it, neither would it exact of the volunteers more than they could give in any one year from their civilian pursuits.

And none of this would be done in such a way as in the slightest degree to supersede or subordinate our present serviceable and efficient National Guard. On the contrary, the National Guard itself would be used as part of the instrumentality by which training would be given the citizens who enlisted under the new conditions, and I should hope and expect that the legislation by which all this would be accomplished would put the National Guard itself upon a better and more permanent footing than it has ever been before, giving it not only the recognition which it deserves, but a more definite support from the national government and a more definite connection with the military organization of the nation.

What we all wish to accomplish is that the forces of the nation should indeed be part of the nation, and not a separate professional

force, and the chief cost of the system would not be in the enlistment or in the training of the men, but in the providing of ample equipment in case it should be necessary to call all forces into the field.

Moreover, it has been American policy time out of mind to look to the Navy as the first and chief line of defense. The Navy of the United States is already a very great and efficient force. Not rapidly, but slowly, with careful attention, our naval force has been developed until the Navy of the United States stands recognized as one of the most efficient and notable of the modern time.

All that is needed in order to bring it to a point of extraordinary force and efficiency as compared with the other navies of the world is that we should hasten our pace in the policy we have long been pursuing, and that chief of all we should have a definite policy of development, not made from year to year, but looking well into the future and planning for a definite consummation.

We can and should profit in all that we do by the experience and example that have been made obvious to us by the military and naval events of the actual present. It is not merely a matter of building battleships and cruisers and submarines, but also a matter of making sure that we shall have the adequate equipment of men and munitions and supplies for the vessels we build and intend to build.

Part of our problem is the problem of what I may call the mobilization of the resources of the nation at the proper time if it should ever be necessary to mobilize them for national defense. We shall study efficiency and adequate equipment as carefully as we shall study the number and size of our ships, and I believe that the plans already in part made public by the Navy Department are plans which the whole nation can approve with rational enthusiasm.

No thoughtful man feels any panic haste in this matter. The country is not threatened from any quarter. She stands in friendly relations with all the world. Her resources are known and her self-respect and her capacity to care for her own citizens and her own rights.

There is no fear amongst us. Under the new-world conditions we have become thoughtful of the things which all reasonable men consider necessary for security and self-defense on the part of every nation confronted with the great enterprise of human liberty and independence. That is all.

Is the plan we propose sane and reasonable and suited to the needs of the hour? Does it not conform to the ancient traditions of America?

Has any better plan been proposed than this programme that we now place before the country? In it there is no pride of opinion. It represents the best professional and expert judgment of the country.

But I am not so much interested in programmes as I am in safeguarding at every cost the good faith and honor of the country. If

men differ with me in this vital matter, I shall ask them to make it clear how far and in what way they are interested in making the permanent interests of the country safe against disturbance.

In the fulfillment of the programme I propose I shall ask for the hearty support of the country, of the rank and file of America, of men of all shades of political opinion, for my position in this important matter is different from that of the private individual who is free to speak his own thoughts and to risk his own opinions in this matter.

We are here dealing with things that are vital to the life of America itself. In doing this I have tried to purge my heart of all personal and selfish motives. For the time being I speak as the trustee and guardian of a nation's rights, charged with the duty of speaking for that nation in matters involving her sovereignty—a nation too big and generous to be exacting and yet courageous enough to defend its rights and the liberties of its people wherever assailed or invaded.

I would not feel that I was discharging the solemn obligation I owe the country were I not to speak in terms of the deepest solemnity of the urgency and necessity of preparing ourselves to guard and protect the rights and privileges of our people, our sacred heritage of the fathers who struggled to make us an independent nation.

The only thing within our own borders that has given us grave concern in recent months has been that voices have been raised in America professing to be the voices of Americans which were not indeed and in truth American, but which spoke alien sympathies, which came from men who loved other countries better than they loved America, men who were partisans of other causes than that of America and had forgotten that their chief and only allegiance was to the great government under which they live.

These voices have not been many, but they have been very loud and very clamorous. They have proceeded from a few who were bitter and who were grievously misled. America has not opened its doors in vain to men and women out of other nations. The vast majority of those who have come to take advantage of her hospitality have united their spirits with hers as well as their fortunes.

These men who speak alien sympathies are not their spokesmen, but are the spokesmen of small groups whom it is high time that the nation should call to a reckoning. The chief thing necessary in America in order that she should let all the world know that she is prepared to maintain her own great position is that the real voice of the nation should sound forth unmistakably and in majestic volume in the deep unison of a common, unhesitating national feeling. I do not doubt that upon the first occasion, upon the first opportunity, upon the first definite challenge, that voice will speak forth in tones which no man can doubt and with commands which no man dare gainsay or resist.

May I not say, while I am speaking of this, that there is another danger we should guard against? We should rebuke not only manifestations of racial feeling here in America where there should be none, but also every manifestation of religious and sectarian antagonism. It does not become America that within her borders, where every man is free to follow the dictates of his conscience and worship God as he pleases, men should raise the cry of church against church. To do that is to strike at the very spirit and heart of America.

We are a God-fearing people. We agree to differ about methods of worship, but we are united in believing in Divine Providence and in worshipping the God of Nations. We are the champions of religious right here and everywhere that it may be our privilege to give it our countenance and support. The Government is conscious of the obligation and the nation is conscious of the obligation. Let no man create divisions where there are none.

Here is the nation God has builded by our hands. What shall we do with it? Who is there who does not stand ready at all times to act in her behalf in a spirit of devoted and disinterested patriotism? We are yet only in the youth and first consciousness of our power. The day of our country's life is still but in its fresh morning.

Let us lift our eyes to the great tracts of life yet to be conquered in the interests of righteous peace.

Come, let us renew our allegiance to America, conserve her strength in its purity, make her chief among those who serve mankind, self-reverenced, self-commanded, mistress of all forces of quiet counsel, strong above all others in good will and the might of invincible justice and right.

PROCLAMATIONS

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Dinosaur National Monument, Utah.]

Whereas, in section twenty-six, township four south, range twenty-three east of the Salt Lake meridian, Utah, there is located an extraordinary deposit of Dinosaurian and other gigantic reptilian remains of the Juratrias period, which are of great scientific interest and value, and it appears that the public interest would be promoted by reserving these deposits as a National Monument, together with as much land as may be needed for the protection thereof.

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by Section two of the act of Congress entitled, "An Act for the Preservation of

American Antiquities," approved June 8, 1906, do hereby set aside as the Dinosaur National Monument, the unsurveyed northwest quarter of the southeast quarter and the northeast quarter of the southwest quarter of section twenty-six, township four south, range twenty-three east, Salk Lake meridian, Utah, as shown upon the diagram hereto attached and made a part of this proclamation.

While it appears that the lands embraced within this proposed reserve have heretofore been withdrawn as coal and phosphate lands, the creation of this monument will prevent the use of the lands for the purposes for which said withdrawals were made. Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, excavate, injure or destroy any of the fossil remains contained within the deposits hereby reserved and declared to be a National Monument or to locate or settle upon any of the lands reserved and made a part of this monument by this proclamation.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this fourth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and [SEAL] fifteen and the Independence of the United States the one hundred and fortieth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Thanksgiving—1915.]

It has long been the honored custom of our people to turn in the fruitful autumn of the year in praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for his many blessings and mercies to us as a nation. The year that is now drawing to a close since we last observed our day of national thanksgiving has been, while a year of discipline because of the mighty forces of war and of change which have disturbed the world, also a year of special blessing for us.

Another year of peace has been vouchsafed us; another year in which not only to take thought of our duty to ourselves and to mankind but also to adjust ourselves to the many responsibilities thrust upon us by a war which has involved almost the whole of Europe. We have been able to assert our rights and the rights of mankind without breach of friendship with the great nations with whom we have had to deal; and while we have asserted rights we have been

able also to perform duties and exercise privileges of succour and helpfulness which should serve to demonstrate our desire to make the offices of friendship the means of truly disinterested and unselfish service. Our ability to serve all who could avail themselves of our services in the midst of crisis has been increased, by a gracious Providence, by more and more abundant crops; our ample financial resources have enabled us to steady the markets of the world and facilitate necessary movements of commerce which the war might otherwise have rendered impossible; and our people have come more and more to a sober realization of the part they have been called upon to play in a time when all the world is shaken by unparalleled distress and disasters. The extraordinary circumstances of such a time have done much to quicken our national consciousness and deepen and confirm our confidence in the principles of peace and freedom by which we have always sought to be guided. Out of darkness and perplexity have come firmer counsels of policy and clearer perceptions of the essential welfare of the nation. We have prospered while other people were at war, but our prosperity has been vouchsafed us, we believe, only that we might the better perform the functions which war rendered it impossible for them to perform.

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Thursday the twenty-fifth of November next as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, and invite the people throughout the land to cease from their wonted occupations and in their several homes and places of worship render thanks to Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this twentieth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifteen
[SEAL] and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fortieth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Forbidding the Export of Arms and Munitions of War to Mexico.]

Whereas, a Joint Resolution of Congress, approved March 14, 1912, reads and provides as follows: "That whenever the President shall find that in any American country conditions of domestic violence exist which are promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war pro-

cured from the United States, and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export except under such limitations and exceptions as the President shall prescribe any arms or munitions of war from any place in the United States to such country until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress”;

And whereas, it is provided by Section II of the said Joint Resolution, “That any shipment of material hereby declared unlawful after such a proclamation shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both”;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority conferred on me by the said Joint Resolution of Congress, do hereby declare and proclaim that I have found that there exist in Mexico such conditions of domestic violence promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States as contemplated by the said Joint Resolution; and I do hereby admonish all citizens of the United States and every person to abstain from every violation of the provisions of the Joint Resolution above set forth, hereby made applicable to Mexico, and I do hereby warn them that all violations of such provisions will be rigorously prosecuted. And I do hereby enjoin upon all officers of the United States, charged with the execution of the laws thereof, the utmost diligence in preventing violations of the said Joint Resolution and this my Proclamation issued thereunder, and in bringing to trial and punishment any offenders against the same.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this nineteenth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifteen [SEAL] and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fortieth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[The President's order making an exception in favor of the Carranza de facto government in Mexico took the form of the following letter to Secretary McAdoo:]

THE WHITE HOUSE,

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 19, 1915.*

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am informed by the Department of State that the recognized de facto Government of Mexico is now in effective control of all the ports of entry in Mexico, except those along

the international boundary in the States of Chihuahua and Sonora, and all the ports in Lower California.

An exception is hereby made to the prohibition against export created by the President's proclamation of October 19, 1915, and you will please instruct the Collectors of Ports and other officers of the Treasury Department to permit to be exported through United States Custom Houses munitions of war for the use of the recognized de facto Government of Mexico, or for industrial or commercial uses within the limits of the territory under its effective control, as above set forth. An embargo, therefore, will be immediately placed against the border ports in the States of Chihuahua and Sonora, as well as all ports in the territory of Lower California, whether or not controlled by the recognized de facto Government of Mexico, and you will so instruct the appropriate Collectors of Customs and other officers of the Treasury Department. Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

[Prescribing Consular Regulations for Maintaining the Rights and Enforcing the Duties of American Sailors in Foreign Ports.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 21, 1915.*

The Consular Regulations of 1896 are hereby amended as follows:

192. In case of loss by desertion—In case of desertion or casualty resulting in the loss of one or more of the seamen, the master must ship if obtainable, a number, equal to the number of these, whose services he has been deprived of by desertion or casualty, who must be of the same or of higher grade or rating with those, whose places they fill, and report the same to the United States consul, at the port at which he shall arrive. This section shall not apply to fishing or whaling vessels, or yachts. R. S. sec. 4516. Mar. 4, 1915.

205. Bond for return of seamen—The master of every vessel bound on a foreign voyage or engaged in the whale fishery, is required by law to exhibit a certified copy of the crew list to the first boarding officer at the first port in the United States at which he shall arrive on his return and also to produce the persons named in the crew list. For each failure to produce any person on the certified copy of the crew list, the master and the owner of the vessel are severally liable to a penalty of \$400. But the penalty is not incurred for failure to produce any seaman named in the crew list who has been discharged in a foreign country with the consent of a consular officer, certified in writing under his hand and official seal to be produced to the collector with the other persons composing the crew; nor on account of any such persons dying or absconding or being forcibly impressed into other service of which satisfactory proof shall then also be exhibited

to the collector. A master cannot lawfully discharge a seaman in a foreign port without the intervention of the consular officer; and it is not material in such case that the discharge is made with the seaman's consent, or that he has misconducted himself, or is not a citizen of the United States. (R. S. 4576; 7 op. Att. Gen., 349; 1 Low, 107; Tawney's Dec. 24; 29 Stat. L. 688).

207. Cases in which seamen are discharged—Add as section 13. "The seamen shall not be shipped to work alternately on deck and in the fireroom, nor shall those shipped for deck duty be required to work in the fireroom or vice versa, but these provisions shall not limit either the authority of the master, or other officer, or the obedience of the seamen, when in the judgment of the master, or other officer, the whole or any part of the crew are needed for the maneuvering of the vessel or the performance of work necessary for the safety of the vessel or of her cargo, or for the saving of life aboard other vessels in jeopardy, or when in port or at sea, from requiring the whole or any part of the crew to participate in the performance of fire, lifeboat and other drills. While such vessel is in a safe harbor, no seaman shall be required to do any unnecessary work on Sundays, or the following named days: New Year's Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day and Christmas Day, but this shall not prevent the despatch of a vessel on regular schedule or when ready to proceed on her voyage. And at all times while such vessel is in a safe harbor, nine hours, inclusive of the anchor watch, shall constitute a day's work. Whenever the master of any vessel shall fail to comply with this section, the seaman shall be entitled to discharge from such vessel, and to receive the wages earned. This section shall not apply to fishing vessels, whaling vessels, or to yachts. Sec. 2, Act March 4, 1915.

210. Desertion from cruel treatment—When a consular officer discharges a seaman—in case of desertion caused by unusual or cruel treatment—he must enter upon the crew list, shipping articles and official log, the cause of discharge. In all cases where seamen or officers are accused, the consular officers shall inquire into the facts, and upon being satisfied of the justice and truth of such complaints, shall require the master to pay such seaman one month's extra wages, over and above the wages due at the time of discharge, and to provide him with adequate employment on board some other vessel, or to provide him with passage on board some other vessel, bound to the port from which he was originally shipped, or to the most convenient port of entry in the United States, or to a port agreed to by the seaman; and the officer discharging such seaman shall enter upon the shipping articles, crew list and official log, the cause of such discharge and the particulars in which the unusual or cruel treatment consisted and subscribe his name thereto, officially. He shall read the entry

made in the official log to the master, and his reply thereto, if any, shall likewise be entered and subscribed in the same manner. R. S. 5483, 1898, and 4600, Mar. 4, 1915.

218. Consular officer to collect wages—If any consular officer when discharging any seaman, shall neglect to require the payment of and collect the arrears of wages and extra wages required to be paid in the case of the discharge of any seaman, he shall be accountable to the United States for the full amount thereof. The master shall provide any seaman so discharged with employment on a vessel agreed to by the seaman, or shall provide him with one month's extra wages, if it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the consul that such seaman was not discharged for neglect of duty, incompetency, or injury incurred on the vessel. If the seaman is discharged by voluntary consent before the consul, he shall be entitled to his wages up to the time of his discharge, but not for any further period. If the seaman is discharged on account of injury or illness, incapacitating him for service, the expenses for his maintenance and return to the United States shall be paid from the fund for the maintenance and transportation of destitute American seamen. Provided, that at the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce, and under such regulations as he may prescribe, if any seaman, incapacitated from service by injury or illness, is on board a vessel so situated that a prompt discharge requiring the personal appearance of the master of the vessel before an American consul, or consular agent is impracticable, such seaman may be sent to a consul or consular agent, who shall care for him and defray the cost of his maintenance and transportation. R. S. 4581—Sec. 19, Act Mar. 4, 1915.

222. Discharge for unusual or cruel treatment—Whenever on the discharge of a seaman in a foreign country by a consular officer, on his complaint against the officers for cruel treatment, it shall be the duty of the consul or consular agent to institute a proper inquiry into the matter, and upon his being satisfied of the truth and justice of such complaint, he shall require the master to pay to such seaman one month's wages over and above the wages due at the time of discharge, *and* to provide him with adequate employment on board some other vessel, *or* to provide him with passage on board some other vessel bound to the port from which he was originally shipped, *or* to the most convenient port of entry in the United States, *or* to a port agreed to by the seaman. R. S. 4583 and 4600.

224. Arrears of wages to be collected and reported—It is the duty of the consular officer to collect all arrears of wages that are due to the seaman at the time of his discharge, and to report the same quarterly together with the extra wages collected, to the Department of State (Form No. 124); and vouchers for wages paid to a seaman,

as prescribed in Form No. 164, must accompany the relief accounts. The arrears of wages and extra wages are not to be applied to the expenses of any discharged seaman after discharge by the consul, but all expenses for his maintenance and return to the United States shall be paid from the fund for the maintenance and transportation of destitute seamen. R. S. 4581 and Cir. Feb. 24, 1910.

228. Loss of vessel—In cases where the services of any seaman terminate before the period contemplated in the agreement, by reason of the loss or wreck of the vessel, such seaman shall be entitled to wages for the time of service prior to such termination, but not for any further period. Such seaman shall be considered as a destitute seaman (R. S. 4526) and it shall be the duty of American consular officers to provide sufficient subsistence and passage to some port in the United States, in the most reasonable manner, at the expense of the United States. The seamen shall, if able, be bound to do duty on board the vessels in which they may be transported, according to their several abilities. (R. S. 4577). This section shall not apply to fishing or whaling vessels, or yachts.

229. Time for payment—The master or owner of any vessel making foreign voyages, or from a port on the Atlantic to a port on the Pacific, or vice versa, shall pay to every seaman his wages within twenty-four hours after the cargo has been discharged, or within four days after the seaman has been discharged, whichever first happens; and in all cases the seaman shall be entitled to be paid at the time of his discharge, on account of wages, a sum equal to one-third part of the balance due him. Every master or owner who refuses or neglects to make payment in the manner hereinbefore mentioned, without sufficient cause, shall pay to the seaman a sum equal to two days' pay for each and every day during which payment is delayed beyond the respective periods, which sum shall be recoverable as wages in any claim made before the court; but this section shall not apply to the masters or owners of any vessel, the seamen of which are entitled to share in the profits of the cruise or voyage. R. S. Sec. 4529.

230. Payment of wages at ports—Every seaman on a vessel of the United States shall be entitled to receive on demand from the master of the vessel to which he belongs, one-half part of the wages, which he shall have then earned, at every port where such vessel, after the voyage has commenced, shall load or deliver cargo before the voyage is ended and all stipulations in the contract shall be void: Provided such demand shall not be made before the expiration of nor oftener than, five days. Any failure of the master to comply with this demand shall release the seaman from his contract, and he shall be entitled to full payment of wages earned. And when the voyage is ended, every such seaman shall be entitled to the remainder of the

wages which shall then be due him, as provided in R. S. 4529. R. S. 4530.

235. Allotment of wages—It shall be lawful for any seaman to stipulate in his shipping agreement for an allotment of any portion of the wages he may earn to his grandparents, parents, wife, sister, or children. No allotment shall be valid unless in writing and signed by and approved by the shipping commissioner. It shall be the duty of the said commissioner to examine such allotments and the parties to them and enforce compliance with the law. All stipulations for the allotment of any part of the wages of a seaman during his absence which are made at the commencement of the voyage shall be inserted in the agreement and shall state the amounts and the times of the payment to be made and the persons to whom the payments are to be made. That no allotment except as provided for in this section shall be lawful. Sec. 10 (b, c, d), Act Mar. 4, 1915.

236. No advance wages—It shall be and is hereby made unlawful in any case to pay any seaman wages in advance of the time when he has actually earned the same, or to pay such advance wages, or to make any order, or note, or other evidence of indebtedness therefor to any other person, or to pay any other person, for the shipment of seamen when payment is deducted from a seaman's wages. Any person violating any of the foregoing provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$100, and may also be imprisoned for a period of not exceeding six months, at the discretion of the court. The payment of such advance wages or allotment shall in no case except as herein provided, absolve the vessel or the master, or the owner thereof from the full payment of wages, after the same shall have been actually earned, and shall be no defense to a libel suit or action for the recovery of such wages. If any person shall demand or receive, either directly, or indirectly, from any seaman, or other person, seeking employment, as seaman, or from any person in his behalf, any remuneration whatever, for providing him with employment, he shall for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be imprisoned for not more than six months or fined not more than \$500. R. S. Sec. 10 (a), Mar. 4, 1915.

238. To be cured at expense of ship—By the general maritime law, a seaman, when he receives any injury when in the service of the ship, or becomes sick during the voyage, and the sickness is not caused by his own fault, is entitled to be cured at the expense of the ship, but if the seaman is discharged on account of illness or injury, incapacitating him for service, the expenses of his maintenance and return to the United States shall be paid from the fund for the maintenance and transportation of destitute American seamen, and pro-

vided, that at the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce, and under such regulations as he may prescribe, if any seaman incapacitated by injury or illness is on board a vessel so situated that a prompt discharge requiring the personal appearance of the master of the vessel before an American consul, or a consular agent is impracticable, such seaman may be sent to a consul or a consular agent, who shall care for him and defray the cost of his maintenance and transportation to the United States. R. S. 4581 and amendments. Sec. 19, Act Mar. 4, 1915. Cir. Feb. 24, 1908.

243. When collected—If any consular officer, when discharging any seaman, shall neglect to require the payment of and collect the arrears of wages and extra wages required to be paid in the case of the discharge of any seaman, he shall be accountable to the United States for the full amount thereof. (R. S. 4581.) Consular officers are required by law to collect one month's extra wages in the following cases, and are prohibited from so doing in any other case.

1. When inspectors appointed by the consul to examine whether the vessel is in a suitable condition to go to sea shall have reported that she was sent to sea unsuitably provided in any important or essential particular by neglect or design, and the consular officer approves of such finding and thereupon the seaman is discharged. But if the master provides the seaman so discharged with passage money to the nearest and most convenient port of the United States or furnishes him with employment on a ship agreed upon, then one month's extra wages should not be collected. R. S. 4561 (paragraphs 207 (6), 208, 315). This section does not apply to fishing or whaling vessels, or yachts. Sec. 11, Dec. 21, 1898.

2. Whenever, on the discharge of a seaman in a foreign country by a consular officer on complaint (his) that the voyage is continued contrary to agreement (paragraph 315) or that the vessel is badly provisioned, or unseaworthy, or against the officers for cruel treatment, it shall be the duty of a consul or a consular agent to institute a proper inquiry into the matter, and, upon his being satisfied of the truth and justice of such complaint, to discharge the seaman. R. S. 4583. The master shall also provide him with adequate employment on board some other vessel, *or* provide him with a passage to the port from which he originally sailed (shipped), *or* to the most convenient port of entry in the United States, *or* to a port agreed to by the seaman.

3. Whenever a seaman is so discharged, if it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the consul that such seaman was not discharged for neglect of duty, incompetency, voluntary consent or injury incurred on the vessel. Sec. 16, R. S. 4581.

247. No waiver of extra wages permitted—A note should be made on the margin of the page opposite the third line from the end, amend-

ing "section 7 of the Act of June 26, 1884," to Section 16 of the Act of December 21, 1898.

252. Vessels sold—Whenever a vessel of the United States is sold in a foreign country and her company discharged, it shall be the duty of the master to produce to the consular officer a certified list of the (the) ship's company, and also the shipping articles, and besides paying to each seaman, or apprentice the wages due him, he shall either provide him with adequate employment on board some other vessel bound for the port at which he was originally shipped, *or* to such other port as may be agreed upon by him, *or* furnish the means of sending him to such port, *or* provide him with a passage home, *or* deposit with the consular officer a sum of money as is by the officer deemed sufficient to defray the expenses of his maintenance and passage home; and the consular officer shall indorse upon the agreement with the crew of the ship which the seaman or apprentice is leaving, the particulars of any payment, provision, or deposit made under this section. A failure to comply with the provisions of this section shall render the owner liable to a fine of not exceeding fifty dollars. Sec. 17, R. S. 4582, Dec. 21, 1898.

254. Discharge for illness or injury—Whenever a seaman is discharged on account of illness or injury incapacitating him for service, the expenses of his maintenance and return to the United States shall be paid from the fund for the maintenance and transportation of destitute seamen. (R. S. 4581; Act of December 21, 1898, Section 17.) At the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce, and under such regulations as he may prescribe, if any seaman incapacitated from service by injury or illness is on board a vessel so situated that a prompt discharge requiring a personal appearance of the master of the vessel before an American consular officer is impracticable, such seaman may be sent to a consular officer who shall care for him and defray the cost of his maintenance and transportation as provided in this paragraph. The personal appearance of the master of the vessel before an American consular officer to consent to the discharge of a seaman who has been incapacitated by injury or illness may be waived by the officer under the following conditions: (a) When the condition of the injured or ill seaman is such that prompt medical attendance is necessary and cannot be furnished on shipboard, and (b) when the master cannot proceed with the seaman to the consul without risk to the crew, the vessel, or the cargo. In such cases the master will address to the consul in writing a full statement of the facts which render necessary the discharge of the seaman, together with a statement of the reasons why he himself is unable to appear before the consul. The statement should cover the usual particulars set forth in a discharge and should be accompanied with an account of the

wages due and with the necessary funds to meet such wages, or (if the cash be not available) with an order on the owner for the amount due. If the consul shall deem the statement satisfactory, he may discharge the seaman as directed in Section 4581, Revised Statutes, as amended by Section 16 of the Act of December 21, 1898, and Section 19 of the Act of March 4, 1915, as if the master were present, attaching to discharge and to his relief account a copy of the statement submitted by the master. If the consul shall deem the statement unsatisfactory, he will decline to grant the discharge and direct that the seaman be returned to the vessel at its expense.

291. Passage money to be paid by the government—In cases where the service of any seaman terminates before the period contemplated in the agreement, by reason of the loss or wreck of the vessel, such seaman shall be entitled to wages for the time of service prior to such termination, but not for any further period. Such seaman shall be considered a destitute seaman and shall be treated and transported to port of shipment as provided in sections 4577 and 4579 of the Revised Statutes. Sec. 3, R. S. 4526. If the seaman is discharged on account of injury or illness, incapacitating him for service, the expenses of his maintenance and return to the United States shall be paid from the fund for the maintenance and transportation of destitute American seamen. Sec. 16, R. S. 4581.

293. Desertion, how punished—It is provided by statute that desertion shall be punished by forfeiture of all or any part of the clothes or effects he leaves on board and of all, or any part of the wages or emoluments he has earned then. For neglecting or refusing without reasonable cause to join his vessel or to proceed to sea in his vessel, or for absence without leave at any time within twenty-four hours of the vessel's sailing from any port, either at the commencement or during the progress of the voyage, or for absence at any time without leave and without sufficient reason from his vessel and from his duty, not amounting to desertion, by forfeiting from his wages not more than two days' pay or sufficient to defray any expenses which shall have been incurred in hiring a substitute. For quitting the vessel without leave, after her arrival at the port of her delivery and before she is placed in security, by forfeiture from his wages of not more than one month's pay. Sec. 7, R. S. 4596, Act March 4, 1915.

299. Arrest of deserters—Cancelled by sections 16 and 17, Act of March 4, 1915.

302. Desertion from cruel treatment—It is by law made the duty of consular officers, in cases where seamen or officers are accused, to inquire into the facts, and, upon his being satisfied of the truth and justice of such complaint, he shall require the master to pay to such

seaman one month's wages over and above the wages due at the time of discharge, and to provide him with adequate employment on board some other vessel, or provide him with a passage on board some other vessel bound for the port from which he was originally shipped, or to the most convenient port of entry in the United States, or to a port agreed to by the seaman; and the officer discharging such seaman shall enter upon the crew list and shipping articles and official log the cause of such discharge and the particulars in which the cruel or unusual treatment consisted, and subscribe his name thereto officially. He shall read the entry made in the official log to the master, and his reply thereto, if any, shall likewise be entered and subscribed in the same manner. Sec. 18, R. S. 4583, Dec. 21, 1898; Sec. 8, R. S. 4600, March 4, 1915.

304. Desertions to be reported within forty-eight hours—Strike out the end of the first sentence beginning at "and consequently no effort is made, or can successfully be made, for the recovery of the deserters, who subsequently come upon the consulate"; and the part of the second sentence reading "In order therefore, to aid in the enforcement of these regulations."

306. Treaty provisions as to desertion—Cancel. Sec. 16 and 17, Act March 4, 1915, forbids the arrest and imprisonment of officers and seamen deserting or charged with desertion from merchant vessels in foreign countries and authorizes the President to give notice of the termination of such treaties to all foreign governments concerned.

315. Complaint of unseaworthiness—Provision has been made by statute for the examination of complaints in respect to the unseaworthy condition of the vessel and insufficient equipment or supplies and for the proceedings of consular officers in such cases. Upon a complaint in writing, signed by the first and second officers, or a majority of the crew of any vessel, while in a foreign port that such vessel is in an unsuitable condition to go to sea, because she is leaky or insufficiently supplied with sails, rigging, anchors, or any other equipment, or that the crew is insufficient to man her, or that her provisions, stores and supplies are not or have not been during the voyage sufficient or wholesome, thereupon in any of these or like cases the consul or consular agent who may discharge any of the duties of a consul shall cause to be appointed three persons of like qualifications with those prescribed in section 4557 of the Revised Statutes, who shall proceed to examine into the cause of complaint and who shall proceed and be governed in all their proceedings as provided by said section (R. S. 4559). The inspectors in their report shall also state whether in their opinion the vessel was sent to sea unsuitably provided in any important or essential particular, by neglect or design, and the consular officer approves of such findings, he shall discharge such of

the crew as request it, and shall require the payment by the master of one month's wages for each seaman over and above the wages then due, or sufficient money for the return of such of the crew as desire to be discharged, or with employment on a ship agreed to by them. But if in the opinion of the inspectors the defects or deficiencies found to exist have been the result of mistake or accident, and could not, in the exercise of ordinary care, have been known and provided against before the sailing of the vessel and the master shall in a reasonable time remove or remedy the cause of complaint, then the crew shall remain and discharge their duty. R. S. 4561, Dec. 21, 1898. (Paragraphs 207 (60, 243). If not so remedied, the consular officer may discharge the crew, on their request, with the arrears of wages, but without any extra wages. The master or commander shall in the first instance pay all the costs of such review, report, or judgment, to be taxed or pay all the costs of such review, report, or judgment, to be taxed or allowed on a fair copy thereof, certified by the judge or justice. But if the complaint of the crew shall appear upon the report and judgment to have been without foundation, the master or commander, or the owner or consignee of such vessel, shall deduct the amount thereof, and of reasonable damages for the detention, to be ascertained by the judge or justice, out of the wages of the complaining seamen. R. S. 4557. In cases of this kind the consular officer will be careful to consult the full text of the statutes. This provision does not apply to fishing or whaling vessels, or yachts.

316. Complaint as to provisions, or water—Amend by changing the last sentence of the paragraph to read: "If the officer to whom any such complaint is made certified in such statement that there was no reasonable ground for such complaint, each of the parties so complaining shall forfeit to the master or owner, his share of the expenses, if any, of the survey." R. S. 4556, Act Dec. 21, 1898. This provision does not apply to fishing or whaling vessels, or yachts (Sec. 26, Act Dec. 21, 1898.)

320. Application to authorities—Strike out form No. 34. ("Requests to Local Authorities for the Arrest of Deserters.") Sec. 16, Act March 4, 1915.

337. Consular Fees—Annote on margin "Section 4559 as amended by section 5 of the Act of March 4, 1915."

352. Insubordination to be discouraged—Amend this paragraph by striking out the first sentence and replacing it with, "It shall be the duty of all consular officers to discountenance by every means in their power and, where the local authorities can be usefully employed for that purpose, to lend their aid and use their exertions to that end in the most effectual manner. In all cases where seamen or officers are accused, the consular officer shall inquire into the facts and proceed

as provided in section 4583 of the Revised Statutes; and the officer discharging such seamen shall enter upon the crew list and shipping articles and official log the cause of such discharge and the particulars in which the cruel or unusual treatment consisted and subscribe his name thereto officially. He shall read the entry made in the official log to the master, and his reply thereto, if any, shall likewise be entered and subscribed in the same manner." The remainder of the paragraph stands as it is.

301. Desertion connived at by master—Strike out the end of the second reading, "and that all proper efforts were made to recover and secure the deserter." Sec. 16, Act Mar. 4, 1915.

Paragraph 89, "The right to reclaim deserters" is cancelled.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Suspending Operation of the Act to Promote the Welfare of American Seamen and to Forbid Their Arrest and Imprisonment for Desertion.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *November 2, 1915.*

In pursuance of the authority conferred upon the President of the United States by Section 2 of the Act of August 18, 1914, entitled "An Act to provide for the admission of foreign-built ships to American registry for the foreign trade, and for other purposes," it is hereby ordered:

That the provisions of section 4488 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by section 14 of the Act of March 4, 1915, entitled "An Act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea," are hereby suspended for a period ending September 3d, 1916.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Establishing a United States Sheep Experiment Station.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 30, 1915.*

Pursuant to authority contained in the act of Congress approved June 25, 1910 (36 Stat., 847), as amended by act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat., 497), and upon the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture, it is hereby ordered that the following described areas in the State of Idaho be withdrawn for the use by the Department of Agriculture of the United States as a sheep-breeding and grazing experimental station, excepting from the force and effect of this withdrawal all lands covered by valid adverse claims initiated prior to the date hereof and maintained pursuant to law:

T. 11 N., R. 36 E., all; T. 10 N., R. 36 E., Secs. 1, 2, 11, and 12; and R. 37 E., Secs. 5, 6, 7, and 8, Boise Base and Meridian.

WOODROW WILSON.

THIRD ANNUAL ADDRESS

[Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, December 7, 1915.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: Since I last had the privilege of addressing you on the state of the Union the war of nations on the other side of the sea, which had then only begun to disclose its portentous proportions, has extended its threatening and sinister scope until it has swept within its flame some portion of every quarter of the globe, not excepting our own hemisphere, has altered the whole face of international affairs, and now presents a prospect of reorganization and reconstruction such as statesmen and peoples have never been called upon to attempt before.

We have stood apart, studiously neutral. It was our manifest duty to do so. Not only did we have no part or interest in the policies which seem to have brought the conflict on; it was necessary, if a universal catastrophe was to be avoided, that a limit should be set to the sweep of destructive war and that some part of the great family of nations should keep the processes of peace alive, if only to prevent collective economic ruin and the breakdown throughout the world of the industries by which its populations are fed and sustained. It was manifestly the duty of the self-governed nations of this hemisphere to redress, if possible, the balance of economic loss and confusion in the other, if they could do nothing more. In the day of readjustment and recuperation we earnestly hope and believe that they can be of infinite service.

In this neutrality, to which they were bidden not only by their separate life and their habitual detachment from the politics of Europe but also by a clear perception of international duty, the states of America have become conscious of a new and more vital community of interest and moral partnership in affairs, more clearly conscious of the many common sympathies and interests and duties which bid them stand together.

There was a time in the early days of our own great nation and of the republics fighting their way to independence in Central and South America when the government of the United States looked upon itself as in some sort the guardian of the republics to the south of her as against any encroachments or efforts at political control from the other side of the water; felt it its duty to play the part even without invitation from them; and I think that we can claim that the task was undertaken with a true and disinterested enthusiasm for the freedom of the Americas and the unmolested self-government of her independent peoples. But it was always difficult to maintain such a rôle without offense to the pride of the peoples whose freedom of action we sought to protect, and without provoking

serious misconceptions of our motives, and every thoughtful man of affairs must welcome the altered circumstances of the new day in whose light we now stand, when there is no claim of guardianship or thought of wards but, instead, a full and honorable association as of partners between ourselves and our neighbors, in the interest of all America, north and south. Our concern for the independence and prosperity of the states of Central and South America is not altered. We retain unabated the spirit that has inspired us throughout the whole life of our government and which was so frankly put into words by President Monroe. We still mean always to make a common cause of national independence and of political liberty in America. But that purpose is now better understood so far as it concerns ourselves. It is known not to be a selfish purpose. It is known to have in it no thought of taking advantage of any government in this hemisphere or playing its political fortunes for our own benefit. All the governments of America stand, so far as we are concerned, upon a footing of genuine equality and unquestioned independence.

We have been put to the test in the case of Mexico, and we have stood the test. Whether we have benefited Mexico by the course we have pursued remains to be seen. Her fortunes are in her own hands. But we have at least proved that we will not take advantage of her in her distress and undertake to impose upon her an order and government of our own choosing. Liberty is often a fierce and intractable thing, to which no bounds can be set, and to which no bounds of a few men's choosing ought ever to be set. Every American who has drunk at the true fountains of principle and tradition must subscribe without reservation to the high doctrine of the Virginia Bill of Rights, which in the great days in which our government was set up was everywhere amongst us accepted as the creed of free men. That doctrine is, "That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community"; that "of all the various modes and forms of government, that is the best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that, when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal." We have unhesitatingly applied that heroic principle to the case of Mexico, and now hopefully await the rebirth of the troubled Republic, which had so much of which to purge itself and so little sympathy from any outside quarter in the radical but necessary process. We will aid and befriend Mexico, but

we will not coerce her; and our course with regard to her ought to be sufficient proof to all America that we seek no political suzerainty or selfish control.

The moral is, that the states of America are not hostile rivals but coöperating friends, and that their growing sense of community of interest, alike in matters political and in matters economic, is likely to give them a new significance as factors in international affairs and in the political history of the world. It presents them as in a very deep and true sense a unit in world affairs, spiritual partners, standing together because thinking together, quick with common sympathies and common ideals. Separated they are subject to all the cross currents of the confused politics of a world of hostile rivalries; united in spirit and purpose they cannot be disappointed of their peaceful destiny.

This is Pan-Americanism. It has none of the spirit of empire in it. It is the embodiment, the effectual embodiment, of the spirit of law and independence and liberty and mutual service.

A very notable body of men recently met in the City of Washington, at the invitation and as the guests of this Government, whose deliberations are likely to be looked back to as marking a memorable turning point in the history of America. They were representative spokesmen of the several independent states of this hemisphere and were assembled to discuss the financial and commercial relations of the republics of the two continents which nature and political fortune have so intimately linked together. I earnestly recommend to your perusal the reports of their proceedings and of the actions of their committees. You will get from them, I think, a fresh conception of the ease and intelligence and advantage with which Americans of both continents may draw together in practical coöperation and of what the material foundations of this hopeful partnership of interest must consist,—of how we should build them and of how necessary it is that we should hasten their building.

There is, I venture to point out, an especial significance just now attaching to this whole matter of drawing the Americans together in bonds of honorable partnership and mutual advantage because of the economic readjustments which the world must inevitably witness within the next generation, when peace shall have at last resumed its healthful tasks. In the performance of these tasks I believe the Americas to be destined to play their parts together. I am interested to fix your attention on this prospect now because unless you take it within your view and permit the full significance of it to command your thought I cannot find the right light in which to set forth the particular matter that lies at the very font of my whole thought as I address you to-day. I mean national defense.

No one who really comprehends the spirit of the great people for whom we are appointed to speak can fail to perceive that their passion is for peace, their genius best displayed in the practice of the arts of peace. Great democracies are not belligerent. They do not seek or desire war. Their thought is of individual liberty and of the free labor that supports life and the uncensored thought that quickens it. Conquest and dominion are not in our reckoning, or agreeable to our principles. But just because we demand unmolested development and the undisturbed government of our own lives upon our own principles of right and liberty, we resent, from whatever quarter it may come, the aggression we ourselves will not practice. We insist upon security in prosecuting our self-chosen lines of national development. We do more than that. We demand it also for others. We do not confine our enthusiasm for individual liberty and free national development to the incidents and movements of affairs which affect only ourselves. We feel it wherever there is a people that tries to walk in these difficult paths of independence and right. From the first we have made common cause with all partisans of liberty on this side the sea, and have deemed it as important that our neighbors should be free from all outside domination as that we ourselves should be; have set America aside as a whole for the uses of independent nations and political freemen.

Out of such thoughts grow all our policies. We regard war merely as a means of asserting the rights of a people against aggression. And we are as fiercely jealous of coercive or dictatorial power within our own nation as of aggression from without. We will not maintain a standing army except for uses which are as necessary in times of peace as in times of war; and we shall always see to it that our military peace establishment is no larger than is actually and continuously needed for the uses of days in which no enemies move against us. But we do believe in a body of free citizens ready and sufficient to take care of themselves and of the governments which they have set up to serve them. In our constitutions themselves we have commanded that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," and our confidence has been that our safety in times of danger would lie in the rising of the nation to take care of itself, as the farmers rose at Lexington.

But war has never been a mere matter of men and guns. It is a thing of disciplined might. If our citizens are ever to fight effectively upon a sudden summons, they must know how modern fighting is done, and what to do when the summons comes to render themselves immediately available and immediately effective. And the government must be their servant in this matter, must supply them with the training they need to take care of themselves and of it. The

military arm of their government, which they will not allow to direct them, they may properly use to serve them and make their independence secure,—and not their own independence merely but the rights also of those with whom they have made common cause, should they also be put in jeopardy. They must be fitted to play the great rôle in the world, and particularly in this hemisphere, for which they are qualified by principle and by chastened ambition to play.

It is with these ideals in mind that the plans of the Department of War for more adequate national defense were conceived which will be laid before you, and which I urge you to sanction and put into effect as soon as they can be properly scrutinized and discussed. They seem to me the essential first steps, and they seem to me for the present sufficient.

They contemplate an increase of the standing force of the regular army from its present strength of five thousand and twenty-three officers and one hundred and two thousand nine hundred and eighty-five enlisted men of all services to a strength of seven thousand one hundred and thirty-six officers and one hundred and thirty-four thousand seven hundred and seven enlisted men, or 141,843, all told, all services, rank and file, by the addition of fifty-two companies of coast artillery, fifteen companies of engineers, ten regiments of infantry, four regiments of field artillery, and four aero squadrons, besides seven hundred and fifty officers required for a great variety of extra service, especially the all important duty of training the citizen force of which I shall presently speak, seven hundred and ninety-two non-commissioned officers for service in drill, recruiting and the like, and the necessary quota of enlisted men for the Quartermaster Corps, the Hospital Corps, the Ordnance Department, and other similar auxiliary services. These are the additions necessary to render the army adequate for its present duties, duties which it has to perform not only upon our own continental coasts and borders and at our interior army posts, but also in the Philippines, in the Hawaiian Islands, at the Isthmus, and in Porto Rico.

By way of making the country ready to assert some part of its real power promptly and upon a larger scale, should occasion arise, the plan also contemplates supplementing the army by a force of four hundred thousand disciplined citizens, raised in increments of one hundred and thirty-three thousand a year throughout a period of three years. This it is proposed to do by a process of enlistment under which the serviceable men of the country would be asked to bind themselves to serve with the colors for purposes of training for short periods throughout three years, and to come to the colors at call at any time throughout an additional "furlough" period of three years. This force of four hundred thousand men would be provided

with personal accoutrements as fast as enlisted and their equipment for the field made ready to be supplied at any time. They would be assembled for training at stated intervals at convenient places in association with suitable units of the regular army. Their period of annual training would not necessarily exceed two months in the year.

It would depend upon the patriotic feeling of the younger men of the country whether they responded to such a call to service or not. It would depend upon the patriotic spirit of the employers of the country whether they made it possible for the younger men in their employ to respond under favorable conditions or not. I, for one, do not doubt the patriotic devotion either of our young men or of those who give them employment,—those for whose benefit and protection they would in fact enlist. I would look forward to the success of such an experiment with entire confidence.

At least so much by way of preparation for defense seems to me to be absolutely imperative now. We cannot do less.

The programme which will be laid before you by the Secretary of the Navy is similarly conceived. It involves only a shortening of the time within which plans long matured shall be carried out; but it does make definite and explicit a programme which has heretofore been only implicit, held in the minds of the Committees on Naval Affairs and disclosed in the debates of the two Houses but nowhere formulated or formally adopted. It seems to me very clear that it will be to the advantage of the country for the Congress to adopt a comprehensive plan for putting the navy upon a final footing of strength and efficiency and to press that plan to completion within the next five years. We have always looked to the navy of the country as our first and chief line of defense; we have always seen it to be our manifest course of prudence to be strong on the seas. Year by year we have been creating a navy which now ranks very high indeed among the navies of the maritime nations. We should now definitely determine how we shall complete what we have begun, and how soon.

The programme to be laid before you contemplates the construction within five years of ten battleships, six battle cruisers, ten scout cruisers, fifty destroyers, fifteen fleet submarines, eighty-five coast submarines, four gunboats, one hospital ship, two ammunition ships, two fuel oil ships, and one repair ship. It is proposed that of this number we shall the first year provide for the construction of two battleships, two battle cruisers, three scout cruisers, fifteen destroyers, five fleet submarines, twenty-five coast submarines, two gunboats, and one hospital ship; the second year, two battleships, one scout cruiser, ten destroyers, four fleet submarines, fifteen coast submarines, one gunboat, and one fuel oil ship; the third year, two battleships, one battle cruiser, two scout cruisers, five destroyers, two fleet sub-

marines, and fifteen coast submarines; the fourth year, two battleships, two battle cruisers, two scout cruisers, ten destroyers, two fleet submarines, fifteen coast submarines, one ammunition ship, and one fuel oil ship; and the fifth year, two battleships, one battle cruiser, two scout cruisers, ten destroyers, two fleet submarines, fifteen coast submarines, one gunboat, one ammunition ship, and one repair ship.

The Secretary of the Navy is asking also for the immediate addition to the personnel of the navy of seven thousand five hundred sailors, twenty-five hundred apprentice seamen, and fifteen hundred marines. This increase would be sufficient to care for the ships which are to be completed within the fiscal year 1917 and also for the number of men which must be put in training to man the ships which will be completed early in 1918. It is also necessary that the number of midshipmen at the Naval academy at Annapolis should be increased by at least three hundred in order that the force of officers should be more rapidly added to; and authority is asked to appoint, for engineering duties only, approved graduates of engineering colleges, and for service in the aviation corps a certain number of men taken from civil life.

If this full programme should be carried out we should have built or building in 1921, according to the estimates of survival and standards of classification followed by the General Board of the Department, an effective navy consisting of twenty-seven battleships of the first line, six battle cruisers, twenty-five battleships of the second line, ten armored cruisers, thirteen scout cruisers, five first class cruisers, three second class cruisers, ten third class cruisers, one hundred and eight destroyers, eighteen fleet submarines, one hundred and fifty-seven coast submarines, six monitors, twenty gunboats, four supply ships, fifteen fuel ships, four transports, three tenders to torpedo vessels, eight vessels of special types, and two ammunition ships. This would be a navy fitted to our needs and worthy of our traditions.

But armies and instruments of war are only part of what has to be considered if we are to provide for the supreme matter of national self-sufficiency and security in all its aspects. There are other great matters which will be thrust upon our attention whether we will or not. There is, for example, a very pressing question of trade and shipping involved in this great problem of national adequacy. It is necessary for many weighty reasons of national efficiency and development that we should have a great merchant marine. The great merchant fleet we once used to make us rich, that great body of sturdy sailors who used to carry our flag into every sea, and who were the pride and often the bulwark of the nation, we have almost driven out of existence by inexcusable neglect and indifference and by a hope-

lessly blind and provincial policy of so-called economic protection. It is high time we repaired our mistake and resumed our commercial independence on the seas.

For it is a question of independence. If other nations go to war or seek to hamper each other's commerce, our merchants, it seems, are at their mercy, to do with as they please. We must use their ships, and use them as they determine. We have not ships enough of our own. We cannot handle our own commerce on the seas. Our independence is provincial, and is only on land and within our own borders. We are not likely to be permitted to use even the ships of other nations in rivalry of their own trade, and are without means to extend our commerce even where the doors are wide open and our goods desired. Such a situation is not to be endured. It is of capital importance not only that the United States should be its own carrier on the seas and enjoy the economic independence which only an adequate merchant marine would give it, but also that the American hemisphere as a whole should enjoy a like independence and self-sufficiency, if it is not to be drawn into the tangle of European affairs. Without such independence the whole question of our political unity and self-determination is very seriously clouded and complicated indeed.

Moreover, we can develop no true or effective American policy without ships of our own,—not ships of war, but ships of peace, carrying goods and carrying much more: creating friendships and rendering indispensable services to all interests on this side the water. They must move constantly back and forth between the Americas. They are the only shuttles that can weave the delicate fabric of sympathy, comprehension, confidence, and mutual dependence in which we wish to clothe our policy of America for Americans.

The task of building up an adequate merchant marine for America private capital must ultimately undertake and achieve, as it has undertaken and achieved every other like task amongst us in the past, with admirable enterprise, intelligence, and vigor; and it seems to me a manifest dictate of wisdom that we should promptly remove every legal obstacle that may stand in the way of this much to be desired revival of our old independence and should facilitate in every possible way the building, purchase, and American registration of ships. But capital cannot accomplish this great task of a sudden. It must embark upon it by degrees, as the opportunities of trade develop. Something must be done at once; done to open routes and develop opportunities where they are as yet undeveloped; done to open the arteries of trade where the currents have not yet learned to run,—especially between the two American continents, where they are, singularly enough, yet to be created and quickened; and it is

evident that only the government can undertake such beginnings and assume the initial financial risks. When the risk has passed and private capital begins to find its way in sufficient abundance into these new channels, the government may withdraw. But it cannot omit to begin. It should take the first steps, and should take them at once. Our goods must not lie piled up at our ports and stored upon side tracks in freight cars which are daily needed on the roads; must not be left without means of transport to any foreign quarter. We must not await the permission of foreign ship-owners and foreign governments to send them where we will.

With a view to meeting these pressing necessities of our commerce and availing ourselves at the earliest possible moment of the present unparalleled opportunity of linking the two Americas together in bonds of mutual interest and service, an opportunity which may never return again if we miss it now, proposals will be made to the present Congress for the purchase or construction of ships to be owned and directed by the government similar to those made to the last Congress, but modified in some essential particulars. I recommend these proposals to you for your prompt acceptance with the more confidence because every month that has elapsed since the former proposals were made has made the necessity for such action more and more manifestly imperative. That need was then foreseen; it is now acutely felt and everywhere realized by those for whom trade is waiting but who can find no conveyance for their goods. I am not so much interested in the particulars of the programme as I am in taking immediate advantage of the great opportunity which awaits us if we will but act in this emergency. In this matter, as in all others, a spirit of common counsel should prevail, and out of it should come an early solution of this pressing problem.

There is another matter which seems to me to be very intimately associated with the question of national safety and preparation for defense. That is our policy towards the Philippines and the people of Porto Rico. Our treatment of them and their attitude towards us are manifestly of the first consequence in the development of our duties in the world and in getting a free hand to perform those duties. We must be free from every unnecessary burden or embarrassment; and there is no better way to be clear of embarrassment than to fulfil our promises and promote the interests of those dependent on us to the utmost. Bills for the alteration and reform of the government of the Philippines and for rendering fuller political justice to the people of Porto Rico were submitted to the sixty-third Congress. They will be submitted also to you. I need not particularize their details. You are most of you already familiar with them. But I do recommend them to your early adoption with the

sincere conviction that there are few measures you could adopt which would more serviceably clear the way for the great policies by which we wish to make good, now and always, our right to lead in enterprises of peace and good will and economic and political freedom.

The plans for the armed forces of the nation which I have outlined, and for the general policy of adequate preparation for mobilization and defense, involve of course very large additional expenditures of money,—expenditures which will considerably exceed the estimated revenues of the government. It is made my duty by law, whenever the estimates of expenditure exceed the estimates of revenue, to call the attention of the Congress to the fact and suggest any means of meeting the deficiency that it may be wise or possible for me to suggest. I am ready to believe that it would be my duty to do so in any case; and I feel particularly bound to speak of the matter when it appears that the deficiency will arise directly out of the adoption by the Congress of measures which I myself urge it to adopt. Allow me, therefore, to speak briefly of the present state of the Treasury and of the fiscal problems which the next year will probably disclose.

On the thirtieth of June last there was an available balance in the general fund of the Treasury of \$104,170,105.78. The total estimated receipts for the year 1916, on the assumption that the emergency revenue measure passed by the last Congress will not be extended beyond its present limit, the thirty-first of December, 1915, and that the present duty of one cent per pound on sugar will be discontinued after the first of May, 1916, will be \$670,365,500. The balance of June last and these estimated revenues come, therefore, to a grand total of \$774,535,605.78. The total estimated disbursements for the present fiscal year, including twenty-five millions for the Panama Canal, twelve millions for probable deficiency appropriations, and fifty thousand dollars for miscellaneous debt redemptions, will be \$753,891,000; and the balance in the general fund of the Treasury will be reduced to \$20,644,605.78. The emergency revenue act, if continued beyond its present time limitation, would produce, during the half year then remaining, about forty-one millions. The duty of one cent per pound on sugar, if continued, would produce during the two months of the fiscal year remaining after the first of May, about fifteen millions. These two sums, amounting together to fifty-six millions, if added to the revenues of the second half of the fiscal year, would yield the Treasury at the end of the year an available balance of \$76,644,605.78.

The additional revenues required to carry out the programme of military and naval preparation of which I have spoken, would, as at present estimated, be for the fiscal year 1917, \$93,800,000. Those

figures, taken with the figures for the present fiscal year which I have already given, disclose our financial problem for the year 1917. Assuming that the taxes imposed by the emergency revenue act and the present duty on sugar are to be discontinued, and that the balance at the close of the present fiscal year will be only \$20,644,605.78, that the disbursements for the Panama Canal will again be about twenty-five millions, and that the additional expenditures for the army and navy are authorized by the Congress, the deficit in the general fund of the Treasury on the thirtieth of June, 1917, will be nearly two hundred and thirty-five millions. To this sum at least fifty millions should be added to represent a safe working balance for the Treasury, and twelve millions to include the usual deficiency estimates in 1917; and these additions would make a total deficit of some two hundred and ninety-seven millions. If the present taxes should be continued throughout this year and the next, however, there would be a balance in the Treasury of some seventy-six and a half millions at the end of the present fiscal year, and a deficit at the end of the next year of only some fifty millions, or, reckoning in sixty-two millions for deficiency appropriations and a safe Treasury balance at the end of the year, a total deficit of some one hundred and twelve millions. The obvious moral of the figures is that it is a plain counsel of prudence to continue all of the present taxes or their equivalents, and confine ourselves to the problem of providing one hundred and twelve millions of new revenue rather than two hundred and ninety-seven millions.

How shall we obtain the new revenue? We are frequently reminded that there are many millions of bonds which the Treasury is authorized under existing law to sell to reimburse the sums paid out of current revenues for the construction of the Panama Canal; and it is true that bonds to the amount of approximately \$222,000,000 are now available for that purpose. Prior to 1913, \$134,631,980 of these bonds had actually been sold to recoup the expenditures at the Isthmus; and now constitute a considerable item of the public debt. But I, for one, do not believe that the people of this country approve of postponing the payment of their bills. Borrowing money is short-sighted finance. It can be justified only when permanent things are to be accomplished which many generations will certainly benefit by and which it seems hardly fair that a single generation should pay for. The objects we are now proposing to spend money for cannot be so classified, except in the sense that everything wisely done may be said to be done in the interest of posterity as well as in our own. It seems to me a clear dictate of prudent statesmanship and frank finance that in what we are now, I hope, about to undertake we should pay as we go. The people of the country are entitled to know just what burdens of

taxation they are to carry, and to know from the outset, now. The new bills should be paid by internal taxation.

To what sources, then, shall we turn? This is so peculiarly a question which the gentlemen of the House of Representatives are expected under the Constitution to propose an answer to that you will hardly expect me to do more than discuss it in very general terms. We should be following an almost universal example of modern governments if we were to draw the greater part or even the whole of the revenues we need from the income taxes. By somewhat lowering the present limits of exemption and the figure at which the surtax shall begin to be imposed, and by increasing, step by step throughout the present graduation, the surtax itself, the income taxes as at present apportioned would yield sums sufficient to balance the books of the Treasury at the end of the fiscal year 1917 without anywhere making the burden unreasonably or oppressively heavy. The precise reckonings are fully and accurately set out in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury which will be immediately laid before you.

And there are many additional sources of revenue which can justly be resorted to without hampering the industries of the country or putting any too great charge upon individual expenditure. A tax of one cent per gallon on gasoline and naphtha would yield, at the present estimated production, \$10,000,000; a tax of fifty cents per horse power on automobiles and internal explosion engines, \$15,000,000; a stamp tax on bank cheques, probably \$18,000,000; a tax of twenty-five cents per ton on pig iron, \$10,000,000; a tax of twenty-five cents per ton on fabricated iron and steel, probably \$10,000,000. In a country of great industries like this it ought to be easy to distribute the burdens of taxation without making them anywhere bear too heavily or too exclusively upon any one set of persons or undertakings. What is clear is, that the industry of this generation should pay the bills of this generation.

I have spoken to you to-day, Gentlemen, upon a single theme, the thorough preparation of the nation to care for its own security and to make sure of entire freedom to play the impartial rôle in this hemisphere and in the world which we all believe to have been providentially assigned to it. I have had in my mind no thought of any immediate or particular danger arising out of our relations with other nations. We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and there is reason to hope that no question in controversy between this and other Governments will lead to any serious breach of amicable relations, grave as some differences of attitude and policy have been and may yet turn out to be. I am sorry to say that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders. There are citizens of the United States,

I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue. Their number is not great as compared with the whole number of those sturdy hosts by which our nation has been enriched in recent generations out of virile foreign stock; but it is great enough to have brought deep disgrace upon us and to have made it necessary that we should promptly make use of processes of law by which we may be purged of their corrupt distempers. America never witnessed anything like this before. It never dreamed it possible that men sworn into its own citizenship, men drawn out of great free stocks such as supplied some of the best and strongest elements of that little, but how heroic, nation that in a high day of old staked its very life to free itself from every entanglement that had darkened the fortunes of the older nations and set up a new standard here,—that men of such origins and such free choices of allegiance would ever turn in malign reaction against the Government and people who had welcomed and nurtured them and seek to make this proud country once more a hotbed of European passion. A little while ago such a thing would have seemed incredible. Because it was incredible we made no preparation for it. We would have been almost ashamed to prepare for it, as if we were suspicious of ourselves, our own comrades and neighbors! But the ugly and incredible thing has actually come about and we are without adequate federal laws to deal with it. I urge you to enact such laws at the earliest possible moment and feel that in doing so I am urging you to do nothing less than save the honor and self-respect of the nation. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out. They are not many, but they are infinitely malignant, and the hand of our power should close over them at once. They have formed plots to destroy property, they have entered into conspiracies against the neutrality of the Government, they have sought to pry into every confidential transaction of the Government in order to serve interests alien to our own. It is possible to deal with these things very effectually. I need not suggest the terms in which they may be dealt with.

I wish that it could be said that only a few men, misled by mistaken sentiments of allegiance to the governments under which they were born, had been guilty of disturbing the self-possession and misrepresenting the temper and principles of the country during these days of terrible war, when it would seem that every man who was

truly an American would instinctively make it his duty and his pride to keep the scales of judgment even and prove himself a partisan of no nation but his own. But it cannot. There are some men among us, and many resident abroad who, though born and bred in the United States and calling themselves Americans, have so forgotten themselves and their honor as citizens as to put their passionate sympathy with one or the other side in the great European conflict above their regard for the peace and dignity of the United States. They also preach and practice disloyalty. No laws, I suppose, can reach corruptions of the mind and heart; but I should not speak of others without also speaking of these and expressing the even deeper humiliation and scorn which every self-possessed and thoughtfully patriotic American must feel when he thinks of them and of the discredit they are daily bringing upon us.

While we speak of the preparation of the nation to make sure of her security and her effective power we must not fall into the patent error of supposing that her real strength comes from armaments and mere safeguards of written law. It comes, of course, from her people, their energy, their success in their undertakings, their free opportunity to use the natural resources of our great home land and of the lands outside our continental borders which look to us for protection, for encouragement, and for assistance in their development; from the organization and freedom and vitality of our economic life. The domestic questions which engaged the attention of the last Congress are more vital to the nation in this its time of test than at any other time. We cannot adequately make ready for any trial of our strength unless we wisely and promptly direct the force of our laws into these all-important fields of domestic action. A matter which it seems to me we should have very much at heart is the creation of the right instrumentalities by which to mobilize our economic resources in any time of national necessity. I take it for granted that I do not need your authority to call into systematic consultation with the directing officers of the army and navy men of recognized leadership and ability from among our citizens who are thoroughly familiar, for example, with the transportation facilities of the country and therefore competent to advise how they may be coöordinated when the need arises, those who can suggest the best way in which to bring about prompt coöperation among the manufacturers of the country, should it be necessary, and those who could assist to bring the technical skill of the country to the aid of the Government in the solution of particular problems of defense. I only hope that if I should find it feasible to constitute such an advisory body the Congress would be willing to vote the small sum of money that would be needed to defray the expenses that would

probably be necessary to give it the clerical and administrative machinery with which to do serviceable work.

What is more important is, that the industries and resources of the country should be available and ready for mobilization. It is the more imperatively necessary, therefore, that we should promptly devise means for doing what we have not yet done: that we should give intelligent federal aid and stimulation to industrial and vocational education, as we have long done in the large field of our agricultural industry; that, at the same time that we safeguard and conserve the natural resources of the country we should put them at the disposal of those who will use them promptly and intelligently, as was sought to be done in the admirable bills submitted to the last Congress from its committees on the public lands, bills which I earnestly recommend in principle to your consideration; that we should put into early operation some provision for rural credits which will add to the extensive borrowing facilities already afforded the farmer by the Reserve Bank Act, adequate instrumentalities by which long credits may be obtained on land mortgages; and that we should study more carefully than they have hitherto been studied the right adaptation of our economic arrangements to changing conditions.

Many conditions about which we have repeatedly legislated are being altered from decade to decade, it is evident, under our very eyes, and are likely to change even more rapidly and more radically in the days immediately ahead of us, when peace has returned to the world and the nations of Europe once more take up their tasks of commerce and industry with the energy of those who must bestir themselves to build anew. Just what these changes will be no one can certainly foresee or confidently predict. There are no calculable, because no stable, elements in the problem. The most we can do is to make certain that we have the necessary instrumentalities of information constantly at our service so that we may be sure that we know exactly what we are dealing with when we come to act, if it should be necessary to act at all. We must first certainly know what it is that we are seeking to adapt ourselves to. I may ask the privilege of addressing you more at length on this important matter a little later in your session.

In the meantime may I make this suggestion? The transportation problem is an exceedingly serious and pressing one in this country. There has from time to time of late been reason to fear that our railroads would not much longer be able to cope with it successfully, as at present equipped and coördinated. I suggest that it would be wise to provide for a commission of inquiry to ascertain by a thorough canvass of the whole question whether our laws as at

present framed and administered are as serviceable as they might be in the solution of the problem. It is obviously a problem that lies at the very foundation of our efficiency as a people. Such an inquiry ought to draw out every circumstance and opinion worth considering and we need to know all sides of the matter if we mean to do anything in the field of federal legislation.

No one, I am sure, would wish to take any backward step. The regulation of the railways of the country by federal commission has had admirable results and has fully justified the hopes and expectations of those by whom the policy of regulation was originally proposed. The question is not what should we undo? It is, whether there is anything else we can do that would supply us with effective means, in the very process of regulation, for bettering the conditions under which the railroads are operated and for making them more useful servants of the country as a whole. It seems to me that it might be the part of wisdom, therefore, before further legislation in this field is attempted, to look at the whole problem of coördination and efficiency in the full light of a fresh assessment of circumstance and opinion, as a guide to dealing with the several parts of it.

For what we are seeking now, what in my mind is the single thought of this message, is national efficiency and security. We serve a great nation. We should serve it in the spirit of its peculiar genius. It is the genius of common men for self-government, industry, justice, liberty and peace. We should see to it that it lacks no instrument, no facility or vigor of law, to make it sufficient to play its part with energy, safety, and assured success. In this we are no partisans but heralds and prophets of a new age.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE TO AUSTRIA ON THE ANCONA SINKING

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, Dec. 6, 1915.

The Secretary of State to Ambassador Penfield:

Please deliver a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, textually as follows:

Reliable information obtained from American and other survivors who were passengers on the steamship Ancona shows that on Nov. 7 a submarine flying the Austro-Hungarian flag fired a solid shot toward the steamship, that thereupon the Ancona attempted to escape, but, being overhauled by the submarine, she stopped, that after a brief period and before the crew and passengers were able to take to the boats the submarine fired a number of shells at the vessel and finally torpedoed and sank her while there were yet many persons on board, and that by gunfire and foundering of the vessel a large number of persons lost their lives or were seriously injured, among whom were citizens of the United States.

The public statement of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty has been brought to the attention of the Government of the United States and received careful consideration. This statement substantially confirms the principal declaration

of the survivors, as it admits that the Ancona, after being shelled, was torpedoed and sunk while persons were still on board.

The Austro-Hungarian Government has been advised, through the correspondence which has passed between the United States and Germany, of the attitude of the Government of the United States as to the use of submarines in attacking vessels of commerce, and the acquiescence of Germany in that attitude, yet with full knowledge on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government of the views of the Government of the United States as expressed in no uncertain terms to the ally of Austria-Hungary, the commander of the submarine which attacked the Ancona failed to put in a place of safety the crew and passengers of the vessel which they purposed to destroy because, it is presumed, of the impossibility of taking it into port as a prize of war.

The Government of the United States considers that the commander violated the principles of international law and of humanity by shelling and torpedoing the Ancona before the persons on board had been put in a place of safety or even given sufficient time to leave the vessel. The conduct of the commander can only be characterized as wanton slaughter of defenseless noncombatants, since at the time when the vessel was shelled and torpedoed she was not, it appears, resisting or attempting to escape, and no other reason is sufficient to excuse such an attack, not even the possibility of rescue.

The Government of the United States is forced, therefore, to conclude either that the commander of the submarine acted in violation of his instructions or that the Imperial and Royal Government failed to issue instructions to the commanders of its submarines in accordance with the law of nations and the principles of humanity. The Government of the United States is unwilling to believe the latter alternative and to credit the Austro-Hungarian Government with an intention to permit its submarines to destroy the lives of helpless men, women and children. It prefers to believe that the commander of the submarine committed this outrage without authority and contrary to the general or special instructions which he had received.

As the good relations of the two countries must rest upon a common regard for law and humanity, the Government of the United States cannot be expected to do otherwise than to demand that the Imperial and Royal Government denounce the sinking of the Ancona as an illegal and indefensible act; that the officer who perpetrated the deed be punished, and that reparation by the payment of an indemnity be made for the citizens of the United States who were killed or injured by the attack on the vessel.

The Government of the United States expects that the Austro-Hungarian Government, appreciating the gravity of the case, will accede to its demand promptly, and it rests this expectation on the belief that the Austro-Hungarian Government will not sanction or defend an act which is condemned by the world as inhumane and barbarous, which is abhorrent to all civilized nations, and which has caused the death of innocent American citizens.

LANSING.

TEXT OF AUSTRIA'S REPLY TO FIRST ANCONA NOTE, ACCEDING TO NO DEMANDS AND INVITING DISCUSSION

AMERICAN EMBASSY, VIENNA, Dec. 15, 1915.

Secretary of State, Washington:

Following note received from Minister for Foreign Affairs noon today:

In reply to the much esteemed note, No. 4,167, which his Excellency Mr. Frederic Courtland Penfield, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, directed to him in the name of the American Government under date of the 9th inst., and in the matter of the sinking of the Italian steamer Ancona, the undersigned, preliminary to a thorough, meritorious treatment of the demand, has the honor to observe that the sharpness with

which the Government of the United States considers it necessary to blame the commanding officer of the submarine concerned in the affair, and the firmness in which the demands addressed to the Imperial and Royal Government appear to be expressed, might well have warranted the expectation that the Government of the United States should precisely specify the actual circumstances of the affair upon which it bases its case.

As is not difficult to perceive, the presentation of the facts in the case in the aforesaid note leaves room for many doubts, and even if this presentation were correct in all points and the most rigorous legal conception were applied to the judgment of the case, it does not in any way sufficiently warrant attaching blame to the commanding officer of the war vessel or to the Imperial and Royal Government.

The Government of the United States has also failed to designate the persons upon whose testimony it relies and to whom it apparently believes it may attribute a higher degree of credibility than to the commander of the Imperial and Royal Fleet. The note also fails to give any information whatsoever as to the number, names, and more precise fate of the American citizens who were on board of the said steamer at the critical moment.

Moreover, in view of the fact that the Washington Cabinet has now made a positive statement to the effect that citizens of the United States of America came to grief in the incident in question, the Imperial and Royal Government is in principle ready to enter into an exchange of views in the affair with the Government of the United States. It must, however, in the first place, raise the question why that Government failed to give juridical reasons for the demands set forth in its note with reference to the special circumstances of the incriminating events upon which it itself lays stress, and why in lieu thereof it referred to an exchange of correspondence which it has conducted with another Government in other cases.

The Imperial and Royal Government is the less able to follow the Washington Cabinet in this unusual path, since it by no means possesses authentic knowledge of all of the pertinent correspondence of the Government of the United States, nor is it of the opinion that such knowledge might be sufficient for it in the present case, which, in so far as it is informed, is in essential points of another nature than the case or cases to which the Government of the United States seems to allude. The Imperial and Royal Government may, therefore, leave it to the Washington Cabinet to formulate the particular points of law against which the commanding officer of the submarine is alleged to have offended on the occasion of the sinking of the Ancona.

The Government of the United States has also seen fit to refer to the attitude which the Berlin Cabinet assumed in the above mentioned correspondence. The Imperial and Royal Government finds in the much esteemed note no indication whatever of the intent with which this reference was made. Should, however, the Government of the United States thereby have intended to express an opinion to the effect that a prejudice of whatever nature existed for the Imperial and Royal Government with respect to the juridical consideration of the affair in question, this Government must, in order to preclude possible misunderstandings, declare that, as a matter of course, it reserves to itself full freedom of maintaining its own legal views in the discussion of the case of the Ancona.

In having the honor to have recourse to the kindness of his Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America with the most respectful request to be good enough to communicate the foregoing to the American Government, and on this occasion to state that the Imperial and Royal Government, in no less degree than the American Government, and under all circumstances, most sincerely deplors the fate of the innocent victims of the incident in question, the undersigned at the same time avails himself of this opportunity to renew the expression of his most distinguished consideration to his Excellency the Ambassador.

(Signed) BURIAN.

PENFIELD.

TEXT OF THE SECOND ANCONA NOTE TO AUSTRIA, REITERATING
OUR DEMANDS AND DECLINING DISCUSSION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, DEC. 19, 1915.

The Secretary of State to Ambassador Penfield:

You are instructed to address a note to the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, textually as follows:

The Government of the United States has received the note of Your Excellency relative to the sinking of the Ancona, which was delivered at Vienna on Dec. 15, 1915, and transmitted to Washington, and has given the note immediate and careful consideration.

On Nov. 15, 1915, Baron Zwiedenek, the Chargé d'Affaires of the Imperial and Royal Government at Washington, transmitted to the Department of State a report of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty with regard to the sinking of the steamship Ancona, in which it was admitted that the vessel was torpedoed after her engines had been stopped and when passengers were still on board.

This admission alone is, in the view of the Government of the United States, sufficient to fix upon the commander of the submarine which fired the torpedo the responsibility for having wilfully violated the recognized law of nations and entirely disregarded those humane principles which every belligerent should observe in the conduct of war at sea.

In view of these admitted circumstances the Government of the United States feels justified in holding that the details of the sinking of the Ancona, the weight and character of the additional testimony corroborating the Admiralty's report, and the number of Americans killed or injured are in no way essential matters of discussion. The culpability of the commander is in any case established, and the undisputed fact is that citizens of the United States were killed, injured, or put in jeopardy by his lawless act.

The rules of international law and the principles of humanity which were thus wilfully violated by the commander of the submarine have been so long and so universally recognized and are so manifest from the standpoint of right and justice that the Government of the United States does not feel called upon to debate them and does not understand that the Imperial and Royal Government questions or disputes them.

The Government of the United States therefore finds no other course open to it but to hold the Imperial and Royal Government responsible for the act of its naval commander and to renew the definite but respectful demands made in its communication of the 6th of December, 1915.

It sincerely hopes that the foregoing statement of its position will enable the Imperial and Royal Government to perceive the justice of those demands and to comply with them in the same spirit of frankness and with the same concern for the good relations now existing between the United States and Austria-Hungary which prompted the Government of the United States to make them.

LANSING.

Reply to Bennet Resolution

After the reading of President Wilson's Third Annual Address, Congressman Bennet of New York introduced and the House passed a resolution asking the President to advise to whom he referred when he said certain citizens born under other flags "had poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life" and had been guilty of attempts to destroy American industry. (Page 8114.)

The President's reply, made public through Chairman Webb of the House Judiciary Committee, was:

I know that you will believe that it goes without saying that I would be delighted to co-operate in any way in attaining the objects which are no doubt sought by the inclosed resolutions which you were kind enough to send me, but I believe it would seriously interfere with the ends of justice if I were at this time to comply with the specific request contained in this suggested action of the House.

I am sure the Department of Justice will be more than willing to put at your disposal any facts whatever that are in its possession which do not block its own processes or embarrass it in its investigation of the intricate and hidden influences.

SPECIAL MESSAGE

[Protesting Against Submarine Warfare Carried On by Germany in War Against the Entente Allies.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 19, 1916.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: A situation has arisen in the foreign relations of the country of which it is my duty to inform you frankly.

It will be recalled that in February, 1915, the Imperial German Government announced its intention to treat the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war, and to destroy all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within any part of that portion of the high seas, and that it warned all vessels, of neutral as well as of belligerent ownership, to keep out of the waters it had thus prescribed, or else enter them at their peril.

The Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without the practical certainty of gross and palpable violations of the law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded upon principles of humanity and established for protection of lives of non-combatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels.

It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks, and that no right to close any part of the high seas against their use, or to expose them to such risks, could lawfully be asserted by any belligerent government.

The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based its protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest and imperative principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

Notwithstanding the earnest protest of our Government, the Imperial German Government at once proceeded to carry out the policy it had announced. It expressed the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate the dangers to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to its submarine commanders, and assured the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of non-combatants.

What has actually happened in the year which has since elapsed has shown that those hopes were not justified, those assurances insusceptible of being fulfilled. In pursuance of the policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and entered upon by the Imperial German Government, in despite of the

solemn protest of this Government, the commanders of German under-sea vessels have attacked merchant ships with greater and greater activity, not only upon the high seas surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, but wherever they could encounter them, in a way that has grown more and more ruthless, more and more indiscriminate as the months have gone by, less and less observant of restraints of any kind; and have delivered their attacks without compunction against vessels of every nationality and bound upon every sort of errand.

Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantman attacked has been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes passengers or crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take the ship's boats before she was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. What this Government foresaw must happen has happened.

Tragedy followed tragedy on the seas in such fashion, with such attendant circumstances, as to make it grossly evident that warfare of such a sort, if warfare it be, cannot be carried on without the most palpable violation of the dictates alike of right and of humanity. Whatever the disposition and intention of the Imperial German Government, it has manifestly proved impossible for it to keep such methods of attack upon the commerce of its enemies within the bounds set by either the reason or the heart of mankind.

In February of the present year the Imperial German Government informed this Government and the other neutral governments of the world that it had reason to believe that the Government of Great Britain had armed all merchant vessels of British ownership and had given them secret orders to attack any submarine of the enemy they might encounter upon the seas, and that the Imperial German Government felt justified in the circumstances in treating all armed merchantmen of belligerent ownership as auxiliary vessels of war, which it would have the right to destroy without warning.

The law of nations has long recognized the right of merchantmen to carry arms for protection, to use them to repel attack, though to use them in such circumstances at their own risk, but the Imperial German Government claimed the right to set these understandings aside in circumstances which it deemed extraordinary.

Even the terms in which it announced its purpose thus still further to relax the restraints it had previously expressed its willingness and desire to put upon the operations of its submarines carried the plain implication that at least vessels which were not armed would still be exempt from destruction without warning, and that personal safety would be accorded their passengers and crews; but even that limitation,

if it was ever practicable to observe it, has in fact constituted no check at all on the destruction of ships of every sort.

Again and again the Imperial German Government has given this Government its solemn assurances that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has again and again permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity.

Great liners like the *Lusitania* and the *Arabic* and mere ferryboats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment's warning, sometimes before they had even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed vessel of the enemy, and the lives of non-combatants, passengers and crew, have been sacrificed wholesale, in a manner which the Government of the United States cannot but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification.

No limit of any kind has in fact been set to the indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters, constantly extending in area, where these operations have been carried on, and the roll of Americans who have lost their lives on ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

One of the latest and most shocking instances of this method of warfare was the destruction of the French cross-channel steamer *Sussex*. It must stand forth, as the sinking of the steamer *Lusitania* did, as so singularly tragical and unjustifiable as to constitute a truly terrible example of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as commanders of German vessels have for the past twelve months been conducting it.

If this instance stood alone some explanation, some disavowal by the German Government, some evidence of criminal mistake or wilful disobedience on the part of the commander of the vessel that fired the torpedo, might be sought or entertained, but unhappily it does not stand alone. Recent events make the conclusion inevitable that it is only one instance, even though it be one of the most extreme and distressing instances, of the spirit and method of warfare which the Imperial German Government has mistakenly adopted, and which from the first exposed that government to the reproach of thrusting all neutral rights aside in pursuit of its immediate objects.

The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy in which its own citizens were involved it has sought to be restrained from any extreme course of action, or of protest, by a thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of this unprecedented war, and actuated in all that it said or did by the sentiments of genuine friendship which the people of the United States have always entertained, and continue to entertain, toward the German nation.

It has, of course, accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial German Government as given in entire sincerity and

good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the German Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the principles of humanity as embodied in the laws of nations.

It has been willing to wait until the significance of the facts became absolutely unmistakable and susceptible of but one interpretation.

That point has now unhappily been reached. The facts are susceptible of but one interpretation: The Imperial German Government has been unable to put any limits or restraints upon its warfare against either freight or passenger ships.

It has therefore become painfully evident that the position which this Government took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, that the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is of a necessity, because of the character of the vessels employed and the methods of attack which their employment of course involves, incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals and the sacred immunities of non-combatants.

I have deemed it my duty to say to the Imperial German Government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, notwithstanding the now demonstrated impossibility of conducting that warfare in accordance with what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue; and that unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight vessels this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether.

This decision I have arrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all thoughtful Americans will look forward to with unaffected reluctance. But we cannot forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances the responsible spokesmen of the rights of humanity, and that we cannot remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to a due regard for our own rights as a nation, to our sense of duty as a representative of the rights of neutrals the world over, and to a just conception of the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solemnity and firmness.

I have taken it, and taken it in the confidence that it will meet with your approval and support. All sober-minded men must unite in hoping that the Imperial German Government, which has in other circumstances stood as the champion of all that we are now contending for in the interest of humanity, may recognize the justice of our demands and meet them in the spirit in which they are made.

NOTE TO GERMANY ON THE SINKING OF THE FRENCH STEAMSHIP
SUSSEX IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL.

WASHINGTON, April 19.

The Secretary of State to Ambassador Gerard:

"You are instructed to deliver to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs a communication reading as follows:

"I did not fail to transmit immediately, by telegraph, to my Government Your Excellency's note of the 10th inst. in regard to certain attacks by German submarines, and particularly in regard to the disastrous explosion which on March 24 last wrecked the French steamship *Sussex* in the English Channel.

"I have now the honor to deliver, under instructions from my Government, the following reply to Your Excellency:"

Information now in the possession of the Government of the United States fully establishes the facts in the case of the *Sussex*, and the inferences which my Government has drawn from that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in Your Excellency's note of the 10th inst.

On the 24th of March, 1916, at about 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer *Sussex*, with 325 or more passengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe.

The *Sussex* had never been armed; was a vessel known to be habitually used only for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel, and was not following the route taken by troop-ships or supply ships. About eighty of her passengers, non-combatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or injured.

A careful, detailed and scrupulously impartial investigation by naval and military officers of the United States has conclusively established the fact that the *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender and that the torpedo by which she was struck was of German manufacture.

In the view of the Government of the United States these facts from the first made the conclusion that the torpedo was fired by a German submarine unavoidable. It now considers that conclusion substantiated by the statements of Your Excellency's note. A full statement of the facts upon which the Government of the United States has based its conclusion is enclosed.

The Government of the United States, after having given careful consideration to the note of the Imperial Government of April 10, regrets to state that the impression made upon it by the statements and proposals contained in that note is that the Imperial Government has failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation which has resulted, not alone from the attack on the *Sussex*, but from the whole method and character of submarine warfare as disclosed by the unrestrained practice of the commanders of German undersea craft during the past twelve-month, and more in the indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities and destinations.

If the sinking of the *Sussex* had been an isolated case the Government of the United States might find it possible to hope that the officer who was responsible for that act had wilfully violated his orders or had been criminally negligent in taking none of the precautions they prescribed, and that the ends of justice might be satisfied by imposing upon him an adequate punishment, coupled with a formal disavowal of the act and payment of a suitable indemnity by the Imperial Government.

But though the attack upon the *Sussex* was manifestly indefensible and caused a loss of life so tragical as to make it stand forth as one of the most terrible examples of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels are conducting it, it unhappily does not stand alone.

On the contrary, the Government of the United States is forced by recent events to conclude that it is only one instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances, of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities and destination, which have become more and more unmistakable as the activity of German undersea vessels of war has in recent months been quickened and extended.

The Imperial Government will recall that when, in February, 1915, it announced its intention of treating the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as

embraced within the seat of war, and of destroying all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within that zone of danger, and warned all vessels, neutral as well as belligerent, to keep out of the waters thus proscribed or to enter them at their peril, the Government of the United States earnestly protested.

It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without constant gross and palpable violations of the accepted law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded on the principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of non-combatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels.

It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks; and that no right to close any part of the high seas could lawfully be asserted by the Imperial German Government in the circumstances then existing.

The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based that protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention.

It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

The Imperial Government, notwithstanding, persisted in carrying out the policy announced, expressing the hope that the dangers involved at any date to neutral vessels would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to the commanders of its submarines, and assuring the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution, both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of non-combatants.

In pursuance of this policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and thus entered upon in despite of the solemn protest of the Government of the United States, the commanders of the Imperial Government's undersea vessels have carried on practices of such ruthless destruction which have made it more and more evident as the months have gone by that the Imperial Government has found it impracticable to put any such restraint upon them as it had hoped and promised to put.

Again and again the Imperial Government has given its solemn assurances to the Government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity.

As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen owned by its enemies as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries and deal with them as with men-of-war, thus, at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed and to accord security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers.

Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board.

Great liners like the *Lusitania* and *Arabic* and mere passenger boats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of non-combatants, passengers and crew have been destroyed wholesale and in a manner which the Government of the United States can not but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification.

No limit of any kind has, in fact, been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters which the Imperial Government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be gov-

erned by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and Government of Germany.

It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government as, of course, given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations.

It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions, and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial Government that that time has come.

It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment, of course, involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals and the sacred immunities of non-combatants.

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue.

Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

This action the Government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations.

GERMANY'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE ON THE SINKING OF THE SUSSEX

BERLIN, May 5, 1916 (by Wireless to Sayville, L. I.)

Following is the text of the note of the German Government in reply to the American note respecting submarine warfare, delivered yesterday by Gottlieb von Jagow, the Foreign Secretary, to Ambassador Gerard:

The undersigned, on behalf of the Imperial German Government, has the honor to present to his Excellency the Ambassador of the United States, Mr. James W. Gerard, the following reply to the note of April 20 regarding the conduct of German submarine warfare.

The German Government handed over to the proper naval authorities for early investigation the evidence concerning the Sussex, as communicated by the Government of the United States. Judging by the results that the investigation has hitherto yielded, the German Government is alive to the possibility that the ship mentioned in the note of April 10 as having been torpedoed by a German submarine is actually identical with the Sussex.

The German Government begs to reserve further communication on the matter until certain points are ascertained, which are of decisive importance for establishing the facts of the case. Should it turn out that the commander was wrong in assuming the vessel to be a man-of-war, the German Government will not fail to draw the consequence resulting therefrom.

In connection with the case of the Sussex the Government of the United States made a series of statements, the gist of which is the assertion that the incident is to be considered but one instance of a deliberate method of indiscriminate destruction of vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations by German submarine commanders.

The German Government must emphatically repudiate the assertion. The German Government, however, thinks it of little avail to enter into details in the present stage of affairs, more particularly as the Government of the United States omitted to substantiate the assertion by reference to concrete facts.

The German Government will only state that it has imposed far-reaching restraints upon the use of the submarine weapon, solely in consideration of neutrals' interests, in spite of the fact that these restrictions are necessarily of advantage to Germany's enemies. No such consideration has ever been shown neutrals by Great Britain and her allies.

The German submarine forces have had, in fact, orders to conduct the submarine warfare in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, the sole exception being the conduct of warfare against enemy trade carried on enemy freight ships encountered in the war zone surrounding Great Britain. With regard to these, no assurances have ever been given to the Government of the United States. No such assurances are contained in the declaration of Feb. 8, 1916.

The German Government cannot admit any doubt that these orders were given or are executed in good faith. Errors actually occurred. They can in no kind of warfare be avoided altogether. Allowances must be made in the conduct of naval warfare against an enemy resorting to all kinds of ruses, whether permissible or illicit.

But apart from the possibility of errors, naval warfare, just like warfare on land, implies unavoidable dangers for neutral persons and goods entering the fighting zone. Even in cases where the naval action is confined to ordinary forms of cruiser warfare, neutral persons and goods repeatedly come to grief.

The German Government has repeatedly and explicitly pointed out the dangers from mines that have led to the loss of numerous ships.

The German Government has made several proposals to the Government of the United States in order to reduce to a minimum for American travelers and goods the inherent dangers of naval warfare. Unfortunately the Government of the United States decided not to accept the proposals. Had it accepted, the Government of the United States would have been instrumental in preventing the greater part of the accidents that American citizens have met with in the meantime.

The German Government still stands by its offer to come to an agreement along these lines.

As the German Government repeatedly declared, it cannot dispense with the use of the submarine weapon in the conduct of warfare against enemy trade. The German Government, however, has now decided to make a further concession, adapting methods of submarine war to the interests of neutrals. In reaching its decision the German Government is actuated by considerations which are above the level of the disputed question.

The German Government attaches no less importance to the sacred principles of humanity than the Government of the United States. It again fully takes into account that both Governments for many years co-operated in developing international law in conformity with these principles, the ultimate object of which has always been to confine warfare on sea and land to armed forces of belligerents and safeguard as far as possible noncombatants against the horrors of war.

But although these considerations are of great weight, they alone would not under present circumstances have determined the attitude of the German Government. For in answer to the appeal by the Government of the United States on behalf of the sacred principles of humanity and international law, the German Government must repeat once more, with all emphasis, that it was not the German, but the British, Government which ignored all accepted rules of international law and extended this terrible war to the lives and property of noncombatants, having no regard whatever for the interests and rights of neutrals and noncombatants that through this method of warfare have been severely injured.

In self-defense against the illegal conduct of British warfare, while fighting a bitter struggle for national existence, Germany had to resort to the hard but effective weapon of submarine warfare.

As matters stand, the German Government cannot but reiterate regret that the sentiments of humanity, which the Government of the United States extends with such fervor to the unhappy victims of submarine warfare, are not extended with the same warmth of feeling to many millions of women and children who, according to the avowed intention of the British Government, shall be starved.

and who by sufferings shall force the victorious armies of the Central Powers into ignominious capitulation.

The German Government, in agreement with the German people, fails to understand this discrimination, all the more as it has repeatedly and explicitly declared itself ready to use the submarine weapon in strict conformity with the rules of international law as recognized before the outbreak of the war, if Great Britain likewise was ready to adapt the conduct of warfare to these rules.

Several attempts made by the Government of the United States to prevail upon the British Government to act accordingly failed because of flat refusal on the part of the British Government. Moreover, Great Britain again and again has violated international law, surpassing all bounds in outraging neutral rights. The latest measure adopted by Great Britain, declaring German bunker coal contraband and establishing conditions under which English bunker coal alone is supplied to neutrals, is nothing but an unheard-of attempt by way of exaction to force neutral tonnage into the service of British trade war.

The German people knows that the Government of the United States has the power to confine the war to armed forces of the belligerent countries, in the interest of humanity and maintenance of international law. The Government of the United States would have been certain of attaining this end had it been determined to insist, against Great Britain, on the incontrovertible rights to freedom of the seas. But, as matters stand, the German people is under the impression that the Government of the United States, while demanding that Germany, struggling for existence, shall restrain the use of an effective weapon and while making compliance with these demands a condition for maintenance of relations with Germany, confines itself to protests against illegal methods adopted by Germany's enemies. Moreover, the German people knows to what considerable extent its enemies are supplied with all kinds of war material from the United States.

It will, therefore, be understood that the appeal made by the Government of the United States to sentiments of humanity and principles of international law cannot, under the circumstances, meet the same hearty response from the German people which such an appeal otherwise always is certain to find here. If the German Government, nevertheless, is resolved to go to the utmost limit of concessions, it has been guided not alone by the friendship connecting the two great nations for over one hundred years, but also by the thought of the great doom which threatens the entire civilized world should the cruel and sanguinary war be extended and prolonged.

The German Government, conscious of Germany's strength, twice within the last few months announced before the world its readiness to make peace on a basis safeguarding Germany's vital interests, thus indicating that it is not Germany's fault if peace is still withheld from the nations of Europe. The German Government feels all the more justified in declaring that responsibility could not be borne before the forum of mankind and in history if after twenty-one months of the war's duration the submarine question, under discussion between the German Government and the Government of the United States, were to take a turn seriously threatening maintenance of peace between the two nations.

As far as lies with the German Government, it wishes to prevent things from taking such a course. The German Government, moreover, is prepared to do its utmost to confine operations of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, that it is in agreement with the Government of the United States.

The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that German naval forces have received the following order:

"In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance."

But neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interests, restrict the use of an effective weapon, if the enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States repeatedly declares that it is determined to restore the principle of freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated.

Accordingly, the German Government is confident that in consequence of the new orders issued to the naval forces the Government of the United States will also now consider all impediments removed which may have been in the way of a mutual co-operation toward restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war, as suggested in the note of July 23, 1915, and it does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war, as are laid down in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government Dec. 28, 1914, and Nov. 5, 1915.

Should steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the American Ambassador assurances of highest consideration.

VON JAGOW.

NATIONAL GUARD ORDERED TO MEXICAN BORDER

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1916.

Text of the telegram sent by Secretary of War Baker to governors of states calling out the militia:

Having in view the possibility of further aggression upon the territory of the United States from Mexico and the necessity for the proper protection of that frontier, the President has thought proper to exercise the authority vested in him by the Constitution and laws to call out the organized militia and National Guard necessary for that purpose.

I am, in consequence, instructed by the President to call into the service of the United States forthwith through you the following units of the organized militia and the National Guard of the State of ———, which the President directs shall be assembled at the State mobilization point ——— (or at the place to be designated to you by the commanding general, ——— department) for muster into the service of the United States (here is inserted the allotment from each State).

Organizations to be accepted into the Federal service should have the minimum peace strength now prescribed for organized militia. The maximum strength at which organizations will be accepted, and to which they should be raised as soon as possible, is prescribed in Section 2, Tables of Organizations, United States Army.

In case any regular battalion or squadron now recognized as such contains an insufficient number of organizations to enable it to conform at muster to regular army organization tables, the organization necessary to complete such units may be moved to mobilization camp and there inspected under orders of the department commander to determine fitness for recognition as organized militia by the War Department.

Circular 19, Division of Military Affairs, 1914, prescribes the organizations desired from each State as part of the local tactical division, and only these organizations will be accepted into service.

It is requested that all officers of Adjutant General's department, Quartermaster's Corps and Medical Corps, duly recognized as pertaining to State Headquarters, under Table 1, Tables of Organizations, Organized Militia, and not elsewhere required for duty in State administrations, be ordered to camp for duty as camp staff officers.

Such numbers of these staff officers as the department commanders may determine may be mustered into the service of the United States for the purpose of proper camp administration and will be mustered out when their services are no longer required.

Where recognized brigades or divisions are called into service from a State, the staff officers pertaining to these units under Tables of Organizations, United States Army, will be mustered into service and also the authorized inspectors of small arms practise pertaining thereto.

Except for these two purposes of mobilization camp service and of the prescribed staff practice service with tactical units, officers of State Headquarters, under Table 1, above mentioned, will not be mustered into service at this time.

If tactical divisions are later organized, the requisite additional number of staff officers with rank as prescribed for division staff will, as far as practicable, be called into service from those States which have furnished troops to such division. Acknowledge,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

NOTE ACCEPTING GENERAL CARRANZA'S PROPOSAL AND STATEMENT DISCLAIMING INTERVENTION

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1916.

Note forwarded to General Carranza by the United States Government accepting his proposal of a reciprocal agreement for the pursuit of bandits across the line dividing the United States and Mexico:

The Government of the United States has received the courteous note of Señor Acuna, [Carranza's Minister of Foreign Affairs,] and has read with satisfaction his suggestion for reciprocal privileges to the American and Mexican authorities in the pursuit and apprehension of outlaws who infest their respective territories lying along the international boundary and who are a constant menace to the lives and property of residents of that region.

The Government of the United States, in view of the unusual state of affairs which has existed for some time along the international boundary, and earnestly desiring to co-operate with the de facto Government of Mexico to suppress this state of lawlessness, of which the recent attack on Columbus, N. M., is a deplorable example, and to insure peace and order in the region contiguous to the boundary between the two republics, readily grants permission for military forces of the de facto Government of Mexico to cross the international boundary in pursuit of lawless bands of armed men who have entered Mexico from the United States, committed outrages on Mexican soil, and fled into the United States, on the understanding that the de facto Government of Mexico grants the reciprocal privilege that the military forces of the United States may pursue across the international boundary into Mexican territory lawless bands of armed men who have entered the United States from Mexico, committed outrages on American soil, and fled into Mexico.

The Government of the United States understands that, in view of its agreement to this reciprocal arrangement proposed by the de facto Government, the arrangement is now complete and in force, and the reciprocal privileges thereunder may accordingly be exercised by either Government without further interchange of views.

It is a matter of sincere gratification to the Government of the United States that the de facto Government of Mexico has evinced so cordial and friendly a spirit of co-operation in the efforts of the authorities of the United States to apprehend and punish the bands of outlaws who seek refuge beyond the international boundary in the erroneous belief that the constituted authorities will resent any pursuit across the boundary by the forces of the Government whose citizens have suffered by the crimes of the fugitives.

With the same spirit of cordial friendship the Government of the United States will exercise the privilege granted by the de facto Government of Mexico, in the hope and confident expectation that by their mutual efforts lawlessness will be eradicated and peace and order maintained in the territories of the United States and Mexico contiguous to the international boundary.

LANSING'S NON-INTERVENTION STATEMENT

Secretary of State Lansing also issued this statement:

In order to remove any misapprehension that may exist either in the United States or in Mexico, the President has authorized me to give in his name the public assurance that the military operations now in contemplation by this Government will be scrupulously confined to the object already announced and that in no circumstances will they be suffered to infringe in any degree upon the sovereignty of Mexico or develop into intervention of any kind in the internal affairs of our sister republic. On the contrary, what is now being done is deliberately intended to preclude the possibility of intervention.

COMPLAINT AGAINST MEXICO

[Delivered by Secretary of State Lansing to Mexican Ambassador Designate Arredondo in reply to General Carranza's message demanding the withdrawal of United States troops from Mexico.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, JUNE 20, 1916.

SIR:—I have read your communication, which was delivered to me on May 22, 1916, under instructions of the Chief Executive of the de facto Government of Mexico, on the subject of the presence of American troops in Mexican territory, and I would be wanting in candor if I did not, before making answer to the allegations of fact and the conclusions reached by your Government, express the surprise and regret which have been caused this Government by the discourteous tone and temper of this last communication of the de facto Government of Mexico.

The Government of the United States has viewed with deep concern and increasing disappointment the progress of the revolution in Mexico. Continuous bloodshed and disorders have marked its progress.

For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered non-productive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken, and in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice.

It would be difficult to find in the annals of the history of Mexico conditions more deplorable than those which have existed there during these recent years of civil war.

It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed.

During the past nine months in particular, the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits who have taken the lives and destroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized.

American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed, and their equipment and horses stolen; American ranches have been raided, property stolen and destroyed, and American trains wrecked and plundered.

The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progreso Post Office and Las Peledas, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory Carranzista adherents, and even Carranzista soldiers, took part in the looting, burning and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated.

Representations were made to General Carranza and he was emphatically requested to stop these reprehensible acts in a section which he has long claimed to be under the complete domination of his authority. Notwithstanding these repetitions and the promise of General Nafarrote to prevent attacks along the international boundary, in the following month of October a passenger train was wrecked by bandits and several persons killed seven miles north of Brownsville, and an attack was made upon United States troops at the same place several days later. Since these attacks leaders of the bandits well known to both Mexican civil and military authorities as well as to American officers, have been enjoying with impunity the liberty of towns of Northern Mexico.

So far has the indifference of the de facto Government to these atrocities gone that some of these leaders, as I am advised, have received not only the protection of that Government but encouragement and aid as well.

Depredations upon American persons and property within Mexican jurisdiction have been still more numerous. This Government has repeatedly requested that the de facto Government safeguard the lives and homes of American citizens and furnish the protection which international obligation imposes, to American interests in the Northern States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua

and Sonora, and also in the States to the south. For example, on January 3, troops were requested to punish the bands of outlaws which looted the Cusi Mining property, eighty miles west of Chihuahua, but no effective results came from this request. During the following week the bandit Villa with his bands of about 200 men, was operating without opposition between Rubio and Santa Ysabel, a fact well known to Carranzista authorities.

Meanwhile a party of unfortunate Americans started by train from Chihuahua to visit the Cusi mines, after having received assurances from the Carranzista authorities in the State of Chihuahua that the country was safe and that a guard on the train was not necessary. The Americans held passports or safe conducts issued by authorities of the *de facto* Government.

On January 10 the train was stopped by Villa bandits and eighteen of the American party were stripped of their clothing and shot in cold blood in what is now known as "the Santa Ysabel massacre."

General Carranza stated to the agent of the Department of State that he had issued orders for the immediate pursuit, capture and punishment of those responsible for this atrocious crime, and appealed to this Government and to the American people to consider the difficulties of according protection along the railroad where the massacre occurred. Assurances were also given by Mr. Arredondo, presumably under instructions from the *de facto* Government that the murderers would be brought to justice and that steps would also be taken to remedy the lawless conditions existing in the State of Durango.

It is true that Villa, Castro and Lopez were publicly declared to be outlaws and subject to apprehension and execution, but so far as known only a single man personally connected with the massacre has been brought to justice by Mexican authorities.

Within a month after this barbarous slaughter of inoffensive Americans it was notorious that Villa was operating within twenty miles of Cusiuhiriachic, and publicly stated that his purpose was to destroy American lives and property. Despite repeated and insistent demands that military protection be furnished Americans, Villa openly carried on his operations, constantly approaching closer and closer to the border.

He was not intercepted, nor were his movements impeded by troops of the *de facto* Government, and no effectual attempt was made to frustrate his hostile designs against Americans. In fact, as I am informed, while Villa and his band were slowly moving toward the American frontier in the neighborhood of Columbus, New Mexico, not a single Mexican soldier was seen in his vicinity. Yet the Mexican authorities were fully cognizant of his movements, for on March 6, as General Gavira publicly announced, he advised the American military authorities of the outlaw's approach to the border, so that they might be prepared to prevent him from crossing the boundary.

Villa's unhindered activities culminated in the unprovoked and cold-blooded attack upon American soldiers and citizens in the town of Columbus on the night of March 9, the details of which do not need repetition here in order to refresh your memory with the heinousness of the crime.

After murdering, burning and plundering Villa and his bandits, fleeing south, passed within sight of the Carranzista military post at Casas Grandes, and no effort was made to stop him by the officers and garrison of the *de facto* Government stationed there.

In the face of these depredations, not only on American lives and property on Mexican soil, but on American soldiers, citizens and homes on American territory, the perpetrators of which General Carranza was unable or, possibly, considered it inadvisable to apprehend and punish, the United States had no recourse other than to employ force to disperse the bands of Mexican outlaws who were with increasing boldness systematically raiding across the international boundary.

The marauders engaged in the attack on Columbus were driven back across the border by American cavalry, and subsequently, as soon as a sufficient force to cope with the band could be collected were pursued into Mexico in an effort to capture or destroy them.

Without co-operation or assistance in the field on the part of the *de facto* Government, despite repeated requests by the United States, and without apparent recognition on its part of the desirability of putting an end to these systematic raids, or of punishing the chief perpetrators of the crimes committed, because they menaced the good relations of the two countries, American forces pursued the lawless bands as far as Parral, where the pursuit was halted by the hostility

of Mexicans, presumed to be loyal to the de facto Government, who arrayed themselves on the side of outlawry and became in effect the protectors of Villa and his band.

In this manner and for these reasons have the American forces entered Mexican territory. Knowing fully the circumstances set forth the de facto Government cannot be blind to the necessity which compelled this Government to act and yet it has seen fit to recite groundless sentiments of hostility toward the expedition and to impute to this Government ulterior motives for the continued presence of American troops on Mexican soil. It is charged that these troops crossed the frontier without first obtaining the consent or permission of the de facto Government.

Obviously, as immediate action alone could avail, there was no opportunity to reach an agreement (other than that of March 10-13, now repudiated by General Carranza) prior to the entrance of such an expedition into Mexico if the expedition was to be effective. Subsequent events and correspondence have demonstrated to the satisfaction of this Government that General Carranza would not have entered into any agreement providing for an effective plan for the capture and destruction of the Villa bands.

While the American troops were moving rapidly southward in pursuit of the raiders, it was the form and nature of the agreement that occupied the attention of General Carranza rather than the practical object which it was to attain—the number of limitations that could be imposed upon the American forces to impede their progress rather than the obstacles that could be raised to prevent the escape of the outlaws.

It was General Carranza who suspended through your note of April 12 all discussions and negotiations for an agreement along the lines of the protocols between the United States and Mexico concluded during the period 1882-1896, under which the two countries had so successfully restored peaceful conditions on their common boundary.

It may be mentioned here that, notwithstanding the statement in your note that "the American Government gave no answer to the note of the 12th of April," this note was replied to on April 14th, when the Department instructed Mr. Rodgers by telegraph to deliver this Government's answer to General Carranza.

Shortly after this reply the conferences between Generals Scott, Funston and Obregon began at El Paso, during which they signed on May 2 a project of a memorandum ad referendum regarding the withdrawal of American troops.

As an indication of the alleged bad faith of the American Government you state that though General Scott declared in this memorandum that the destruction and dispersion of the Villa band "had been accomplished," yet American forces are not withdrawn from Mexico. It is only necessary to read the memorandum, which is in the English language, to ascertain that this is clearly a misstatement, for the memorandum states that "the American punitive expeditionary forces have destroyed or dispersed many of the lawless elements and bandits, . . . or have driven them far into the interior of the Republic of Mexico," and further, that the United States forces were then "carrying on a vigorous pursuit of such small numbers of bandits or lawless elements as may have escaped."

The context of your note gives the impression that the object of the expedition being admittedly accomplished, the United States had agreed in the memorandum to begin the withdrawal of its troops. The memorandum shows, however, that it was not alone on account of partial dispersion of the bandits that it was decided to begin the withdrawal of American forces, but equally on account of the assurances of the Mexican Government that their forces were "at the present time being augmented and strengthened to such an extent that they will be able to prevent any disorders occurring in Mexico that would in any way endanger American territory," and "that they would continue to diligently pursue, capture or destroy any lawless bands of bandits that may still exist or hereafter exist in the northern part of Mexico," and that it would "make a proper distribution of such of its forces as may be necessary to prevent the possibility of invasion of American territory from Mexico."

It was because of these assurances, and because of General Scott's confidence that they would be carried out, that he stated in the memorandum that the American forces would be "gradually withdrawn." It is to be noted that, while the American Government was willing to ratify this agreement, General Carranza refused to do so, as General Obregon stated, because, among other things, it imposed improper conditions upon the Mexican Government.

Notwithstanding the assurances in the memorandum, it is well known that the forces of the de facto Government have not carried on a vigorous pursuit of the remaining bandits and that no proper distribution of forces to prevent the invasion of American territory has been made, as will be shown by the further facts hereinafter set forth.

I am reluctant to be forced to the conclusion which might be drawn from these circumstances that the de facto Government, in spite of the crimes committed and the sinister designs of Villa and his followers, did not and does not now intend or desire that these outlaws should be captured, destroyed or dispersed by American troops or, at the request of this Government, by Mexican troops.

While the conferences at El Paso were in progress, and after the American conferees had been assured on May 2 that the Mexican forces in the northern part of the republic were then being augmented so as to be able to prevent any disorders that would endanger American territory, a band of Mexicans, on the night of May 5, made an attack at Glenn Springs, Texas, about twenty miles north of the border, killing American soldiers and civilians, burning and sacking property and carrying off two Americans as prisoners.

Subsequent to this event, the Mexican Government, as you state, gave instructions to General Obregon to notify that of the United States that it would not permit the further passage of American troops into Mexico on this account, and that orders had been given to all military commanders along the frontier not to consent to same.

This Government is, of course, not in a position to dispute the statement that these instructions had been given to General Obregon, but it can decisively assert that General Obregon never gave any such information to General Scott or General Funston or, so far as known, to any other American official. General Obregon did, however, inquire as to whether American troops had entered Mexico in pursuit of the Glenn Springs raiders, and General Funston stated that no orders had been issued to American troops to cross the frontier on account of the raid, but this statement was made before any such orders had been issued and not afterward, as the erroneous account of the interview given in your note would appear to indicate.

Moreover, no statement was made by the American generals that "no more American troops would cross into our territory." On the contrary, it was pointed out to General Obregon and to Mr. Juan Amador, who was present at the conference, and pointed out with emphasis, that the bandits De La Rosa and Pedro Vino, who had been instrumental in causing the invasion of Texas above Brownsville, were even reported to be arranging in the neighborhood of Victoria for another raid across the border, and it was made clear to General Obregon that if the Mexican Government did not take immediate steps to prevent another invasion of the United States by these marauders, who were frequently seen in the company of General Nafarroto, the Constitutionalist commander, Mexico would find in Tamaulipas another punitive expedition similar to that then in Chihuahua.

American troops crossed into Mexico on May 10, upon notification to the local military authorities, under the repudiated agreement of March 10-13, or in any event, in accordance with the practice adopted over forty years ago, when there was no agreement regarding pursuit of marauders across the international boundary. These troops penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory in pursuit of the Glenn Springs marauders without encountering a detachment of Mexican troops or a single Mexican soldier.

Further discussion of this raid, however, is not necessary, because the American forces sent in pursuit of the bandits recrossed into Texas on the morning of May 22, the date of your note under consideration—a further proof of the singleness of purpose of this Government in endeavoring to quell disorder and stamp out lawlessness along the border.

During the continuance of the El Paso conferences General Scott, you assert, did not take into consideration the plan proposed by the Mexican Government for the protection of the frontier by the reciprocal distribution of troops along the boundary.

The proposition was made by General Obregon a number of times, but each time conditioned upon the immediate withdrawal of American troops, and the Mexican conferees were invariably informed that immediate withdrawal could not take place and that, therefore, it was impossible to discuss the project on that basis.

I have noted the fact that your communication is not limited to a discussion

of the deplorable conditions existing along the border and their important bearing on the peaceful relations of our governments, but that an effort is made to connect it with other circumstances in order to support, if possible, a mistaken interpretation of the attitude of the Government of the United States toward Mexico.

You state in effect that the American Government has placed every obstacle in the way of attaining the pacification of Mexico, and that this is shown by the volume of diplomatic representations in behalf of American interests which constantly impede efforts to reorganize the political, economical and social conditions of the country; by the decided aid lent at one time to Villa by American officers and by the Department of State; by the aid extended by the American Catholic clergy to that of Mexico; by the constant activity of the American press in favor of intervention and the interests of American business men; by the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory; by the detention of shipment of arms and munitions purchased by the Mexican Government, and by the detention of machinery intended for their manufacture.

In reply to this sweeping charge, I can truthfully affirm that the American Government has given every possible encouragement to the de facto Government in the pacification and rehabilitation of Mexico. From the moment of its recognition, it has had the undivided support of this Government.

An embargo was placed upon arms and ammunition going into Chihuahua, Sonora and Lower California, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the armed opponents of the de facto Government. Permission has been granted from time to time, as requested, for Mexican troops and equipment to traverse American territory from one point to another in Mexico, in order that the operations of Mexican troops against Villa and his forces might be facilitated.

In view of these friendly acts, I am surprised that the de facto Government has construed diplomatic representations in regard to the unjust treatment accorded American interests, private assistance to opponents of the de facto Government by sympathizers in a foreign country, and the activity of a foreign press as interference by the United States Government in the domestic politics of Mexico.

If a denial is needed that this Government has ulterior and improper motives in its diplomatic representations, or has countenanced the activities of American sympathizers and the American press opposed to the de facto Government, I am glad most emphatically to deny it. It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that the Mexican press has been more active than the press in the United States in endeavoring to inflame the two peoples against each other and to force the two countries into hostilities.

With the power of censorship of the Mexican press, so rigorously exercised by the de facto Government, the responsibility for this activity cannot, it would seem, be avoided by that Government and the issue of the appeal of General Carranza himself in the press of March 12, calling upon the Mexican people to be prepared for any emergency which might arise and intimating that war with the United States was imminent, evidences that attitude of the de facto Government toward these publications. It should not be a matter of surprise that, after such manifestations of hostile feeling, the United States was doubtful of the purpose for which the large amount of ammunition was to be used which the de facto Government appeared eager to import from this country.

Moreover, the policy of the de facto Government in refusing to co-operate and in failing to act independently in destroying the Villa bandits, and in otherwise suppressing outlawry in the vicinity of the border so as to remove the danger of war materials, while passing southward through this zone, falling into the hands of the enemies of law and order, is, in the opinion of this Government, a sufficient ground, even if there were no other, for the refusal to allow such materials to cross the boundary into the bandit-infested region. To have permitted these shipments without careful scrutiny would, in the circumstances, have been to manifest a sense of security which would have been unjustified.

Candor compels me to add that the unconcealed hostility of the subordinate military commanders of the de facto Government toward the American troops engaged in pursuing the Villa bands and the efforts of the de facto Government to compel their withdrawal from Mexican territory by threats and show of military force instead of by aiding in the capture of the outlaws constitute a menace to the safety of the American troops and to the peace of the border. As long as this menace continues and there is any evidence of an intention on the part of the de facto Government or its military commanders to use force against the American troops instead of co-operating with them, the Government of

the United States will not permit munitions of war or machinery for their manufacture to be exported from this country to Mexico.

As to the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory, I can state that vigorous efforts have been and are being made by the agents of the United States to apprehend and bring to justice all persons found to be conspiring to violate the laws of the United States by organizing to oppose with arms the *de facto* Government of Mexico.

Political refugees have undoubtedly sought asylum in the United States, but this Government has vigilantly kept them under surveillance and has not hesitated to apprehend them upon proof of their criminal intentions, as the arrest of General Huerta and others fully attests.

Having corrected the erroneous statements of fact to which I have adverted, the real situation stands forth in its true light. It is admitted that American troops have crossed the international boundary in hot pursuit of the Columbus raiders and without notice to or the consent of your Government; but, through several protestations on the part of this Government by the President, by this Department and by other American authorities, that the object of the expedition was to capture, destroy or completely disperse the Villa bands of outlaws, or to turn this duty over to the Mexican authorities when assured that it would be effectively fulfilled, have been carried out in perfect good faith by the United States.

Its efforts, however, have been obstructed at every point; first, by insistence on a palpably useless agreement which you admit was either not to apply to the present expedition or was to contain impracticable restrictions on its organization and operation; then, by actual opposition, encouraged and fostered by the *de facto* Government, to the further advance of the expedition into Villa territory, which was followed by the sudden suspension of all negotiations for an arrangement for the pursuit of Villa and his followers and the protection of the frontier; and finally by a demand for the immediate withdrawal of the American troops. Meantime conditions of anarchy in the border States of Mexico were continually growing worse.

Incursions into American territory were plotted and perpetrated since the Glenn Springs raid was successfully executed, while no effective efforts were being made by General Carranza to improve the conditions and protect American territory from constant threat of invasion.

In view of this increasing menace, of the inactivity of the Carranza forces, of the lack of co-operation in the apprehension of the Villa bandits, and of the known encouragement and aid given to bandit leaders, it is unreasonable to expect the United States to withdraw its forces from Mexican territory or to prevent their entry again when their presence is the only check upon further bandit outrages, and the only efficient means of protecting American lives and homes—safeguards which General Carranza, though internationally obligated to supply, is manifestly unable or unwilling to give.

In view of the actual state of affairs as I have outlined above, I am now in a position to consider the conclusions which you have drawn in your note under acknowledgment from the erroneous statements of the fact which you have set forth.

Your Government intimates, if it does not openly charge, that the attitude of the United States is one of insincerity, distrust and suspicion toward the *de facto* Government of Mexico, and that the intention of the United States in sending its troops into Mexico is to extend its sovereignty over Mexican territory and not merely for the purpose of pursuing marauders and preventing future raids across the border.

The *de facto* Government charges by implication, which admits of but one interpretation, that this Government has as its object territorial aggrandizement, even at the expense of a war of aggression against a neighbor weakened by years of civil strife. The Government of the United States, if it had had designs on the territory of Mexico, would have had no difficulty in finding during this period of revolution and disorder many plausible arguments for intervention in Mexican affairs. Hoping, however, that the people of Mexico would, through their own efforts, restore peace and establish an orderly government, the United States has awaited with patience the consummation of the revolution.

When the superiority of the revolutionary faction led by General Carranza became undoubted, the United States, after conferring with six others of the American republics, recognized unconditionally the present *de facto* Government. It hoped and expected that that Government would speedily restore order and

provide the Mexican people and others, who had given their energy and substance to the development of the great resources of the republic, opportunity to rebuild in peace and security their shattered fortunes.

This Government has waited month after month for the consummation of its hope and expectation. In spite of increasing discouragements, in spite of repeated provocations to exercise force in the restoration of order in the northern regions of Mexico, where American interests have suffered most seriously from lawlessness, the Government of the United States has refrained from aggressive action and sought by appeals and moderate though explicit demands to impress upon the de facto Government the seriousness of the situation and to arouse it to its duty to perform its international obligations toward the citizens of the United States who had entered the territory of Mexico, or had vested interests within its boundaries.

In the face of constantly renewed evidences of the patience and restraint of this Government in circumstances which only a government imbued with an unselfish and sincere desire to respect to the full the sovereign rights and national dignity of the Mexican people would have endured, doubts and suspicions as to the motives of the Government of the United States are expressed in your communication of May 22, for which I can imagine no purpose but to impugn the good faith of this Government, for I find it hard to believe that such imputations are not universally known to be without the least shadow of justification.

In fact, can the de facto Government doubt that, if the United States had turned covetous eyes on Mexican territory it could have found many pretexts in the past for the gratification of its desire? Can that Government doubt that months ago, when the war between the revolutionary factions was in progress, a much better opportunity than the present was afforded for American intervention, if such has been the purpose of the United States as the de facto Government now insinuates? What motive could this Government have had in refraining from taking advantage of such opportunities other than unselfish friendship for the Mexican republic.

I have, of course, given consideration to your argument that the responsibility for the present situation rests largely upon this Government. In the first place, you state that even the American forces along the border, whose attention is undivided by other military operations, find themselves physically unable to protect effectively the frontier on the American side.

Obviously, if there is no means of reaching bands roving on Mexican territory and making sudden dashes at night into American territory, it is impossible to prevent such invasions, unless the frontier is protected by a cordon of troops.

No Government could be expected to maintain a force of this strength along the boundary of a nation with which it is at peace for the purpose of resisting the onslaughts of a few bands of lawless men, especially when the neighboring State makes no effort to prevent these attacks. The most effective method of preventing raids of this nature, as past experience has fully demonstrated, is to visit punishment or destruction on the raiders.

It is precisely this plan which the United States desires to follow along the border without any intention of interfering upon the sovereign rights of her neighbor, but which although obviously advantageous to the de facto Government, it refuses to allow or even countenance. It is in fact protection to American lives and property about which the United States is solicitous and not the methods or ways in which that protection shall be accomplished. If the Mexican Government is unwilling or unable to give this protection by preventing its territory from being the rendezvous and refuge of murderers and plunderers, that does not relieve this Government from its duty to take all the steps necessary to safeguard American citizens on American soil.

The United States Government cannot and will not allow bands of lawless men to establish themselves upon its borders with liberty to invade and plunder American territory with impunity, and when pursued to seek safety across the Rio Grande, relying upon the plea of their Government that the integrity of the soil of the Mexican Republic must not be violated.

The Mexican Government further protests that it has "made every effort on its part to protect the frontier" and that it is doing "all possible to avoid a recurrence of such acts." Attention is again invited to the well-known and unrestricted activities of De La Rosa, Ancieto Piscano, Pedro Vinos and others in connection with border raids, and to the fact that, as I am advised, up to June 4, De La Rosa was still collecting troops at Monterey for the openly avowed purpose of making attacks on Texas border towns, and that Pedro Vinos was recruiting at other places for the same avowed purpose.

I have already pointed out the uninterrupted progress of Villa to and from Columbus, and the fact that the American forces in pursuit of the Glenn Springs marauders penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory without encountering a single Carranzista soldier. This does not indicate that the Mexican Government is "doing all possible" to avoid further raids, and if it is doing "all possible" this is not sufficient to prevent border raids, and there is every reason, therefore, why this Government must take such preventive measures as it deems sufficient.

It is suggested that injuries suffered on account of bandit raids are a matter of "pecuniary reparation" but, never the cause for American forces to invade Mexican soil. The precedents which have been established and maintained by the Government of the Mexican Republic for the last half century do not bear out this statement. It has grown to be almost a custom not to settle depredations of bandits by payments of money alone, but to quell such disorders and prevent such crimes by swift and sure punishment.

The de facto Government finally argues that "if the frontier were duly protected from incursions from Mexico there would be no reason for the existing difficulty"; thus the de facto Government attempts to absolve itself from the first duty of any Government, namely, the protection of life and property. This is the paramount obligation for which governments are instituted, and governments neglecting or failing to perform it are not worthy of the name.

This is the duty for which General Carranza, it must be assumed, initiated his revolution in Mexico and organized the present Government and for which the United States Government recognized his Government as the de facto Government of Mexico. Protection of American lives and property, then, in the United States is first the obligation of this Government and in Mexico is, first, the obligation of Mexico, and second, the obligation of the United States.

In securing this protection along the common boundary, the United States has a right to expect the co-operation of its neighboring republic; and yet, instead of taking steps to check or punish the raiders, the de facto Government demurs and objects to measures taken by the United States.

The United States Government does not wish to believe that the de facto Government approves these marauding attacks, yet as they continue to be made, they show that the Mexican Government is unable to repress them. This inability, as this Government has had occasion in the past to say, may excuse the failure to check the outrages complained of, but it only makes stronger the duty of the United States to prevent them, for if the Government of Mexico cannot protect the lives and property of Americans, exposed to attack from Mexicans, the Government of the United States is in duty bound, so far as it can, to do so.

In conclusion the Mexican Government invites the United States to support "assurances of friendship with real and effective acts," which "can be no other than the immediate withdrawal of the American troops." For the reasons I have herein fully set forth, this request of the de facto Government cannot now be entertained. The United States has not sought the duty which has been forced upon it of pursuing bandits who, under fundamental principles of municipal and international law, ought to be pursued and arrested and punished by Mexican authorities.

Whenever Mexico will assume and effectively exercise that responsibility the United States, as it has many times before publicly declared, will be glad to have this obligation fulfilled by the de facto Government of Mexico. If, on the contrary, the de facto Government is pleased to ignore this obligation and to believe that "in case of a refusal to retire these troops there is no further recourse than to defend its territory by an appeal to arms," the Government of the United States would surely be lacking in sincerity and friendship if it did not frankly impress upon the de facto Government that the execution of this threat will lead to the gravest consequences.

While this Government would deeply regret such a result, it cannot recede from its settled determination to maintain its national rights and to perform its full duty in preventing further invasions of the territory of the United States and in removing the peril which Americans along the international boundary have borne so long with patience and forbearance.

Accept, etc.,

ROBERT LANSING.

ULTIMATUM TO MEXICO

WASHINGTON, June 26, 1916.

The text of the ultimatum to Carranza, given out by the State Department today, follows. This telegram was sent on June 25, 1916, to James Linn Rodgers, Special Representative of the American Government in Mexico City:

Mr. Arredondo yesterday delivered to this Government the following communication:

"I am directed by my Government to inform Your Excellency, with reference to the Carrizal incident, that the chief executive, through the Mexican war department, gave orders to General Jacinto B. Trevino not to permit American forces from General Pershing's column to advance further south, nor to move either east or west from the points where they are located, and to oppose new incursions of American soldiers into Mexican territory.

"These orders were brought by General Trevino to the attention of General Pershing, who acknowledged the receipt of the communication relative thereto.

"On the 22d instant, as Your Excellency knows, an American force moved eastward quite far from its base notwithstanding orders and was engaged by Mexican troops at Carrizal, State of Chihuahua. As a result of the encounter several men on both sides were killed and wounded, and seventeen American soldiers were made prisoners."

You are hereby instructed to hand to the Minister of Foreign Relations of the de facto Government the following:

"The Government of the United States can put no other construction upon the communication handed to the Secretary of State of the United States on the twenty-fourth of June, by Mr. Arredondo, under instruction of your Government, than that it is intended as a formal avowal of deliberate hostile action against the forces of the United States now in Mexico, and of the purpose to attack them without provocation whenever they move from their present position in pursuance of the objects for which they were sent there, notwithstanding the fact that those objects not only involve no unfriendly intention toward the Government and people of Mexico, but are, on the contrary, intended only to assist that Government in protecting itself and the territory and people of the United States against irresponsible and insurgent bands of rebel marauders.

"I am instructed, therefore, by my Government to demand the immediate release of prisoners taken in the encounter at Carrizal, together with any property of the United States taken with them, and to inform you that the Government of the United States expects an early statement from your Government as to the course of action it wishes the Government of the United States to understand it has determined upon; and that it also expects that this statement be made through the usual diplomatic channels, and not through subordinate military commanders."

LANSING.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

[Providing for the Payment of Interest on Deposit Money Orders Issued in the Canal Zone.]

By virtue of the authority vested in me by law, it is hereby ordered:—

1. That deposit money orders issued by the Canal Zone Postal Service shall bear interest at the rate of one-half of one percentum for each period of three full calendar months, from August 21, 1916, or subsequent date of issue. Interest shall be payable when the order is paid but shall not accrue on any order for more than three years.

2. The Governor of The Panama Canal is authorized to prescribe such detailed rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out this order.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 22, 1916.*

NEUTRALITY PROCLAMATIONS

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—France, Great Britain, Italy, Servia, and Bulgaria.]

WHEREAS a state of war unhappily exists between France, Great Britain, Italy and Servia on the one side and Bulgaria on the other; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

DONE at the City of Washington this eleventh day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifteen
[SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fortieth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Germany and Portugal.]

WHEREAS a state of war unhappily exists between Germany and Portugal; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

DONE at the City of Washington this thirteenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen
[SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fortieth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Germany and Italy.]

WHEREAS a state of war unhappily exists between Germany and Italy; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

DONE at the City of Washington this thirtieth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen
[SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-first.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State.*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Neutrality—Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Germany, Turkey, and Roumania.]

WHEREAS a state of war unhappily exists between Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Germany, and Turkey on the one side and Roumania on the other; And Whereas the United States is on terms of friendship and amity with the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

[Here follows the identical preamble and warning against violation of quoted law as in the proclamation of neutrality in the case of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia, Germany and Russia, and Germany and France. See pages 7969, 7970, 7971, 7972 and 7973.—*Ed.*]

DONE at the City of Washington this eighteenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen
[SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-first.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State.*

PROTEST AGAINST BRITISH BLACKLISTING OF AMERICAN FIRMS
AND INTERFERENCE IN AMERICAN TRADE WITH NEUTRALS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, July 26, 1916.

The Acting Secretary of State to Ambassador W. H. Page.

You are instructed to deliver to Sir Edward Grey a formal note on the subject of the Enemy Trading Act, textually as follows:

The announcement that his Britannic Majesty's Government has placed the names of certain persons, firms, and corporations in the United States upon a proscriptive "blacklist" and has forbidden all financial or commercial dealings between them and citizens of Great Britain has been received with the most painful surprise by the people and Government of the United States, and seems to the Government of the United States to embody a policy of arbitrary interference with neutral trade against which it is its duty to protest in the most decided terms.

The scope and effect of the policy are extraordinary. British steamship companies will not accept cargoes from the proscribed firms or persons or transport their goods to any port, and steamship lines under neutral ownership understand that if they accept freight from them they are likely to be denied coal at British ports and excluded from other privileges which they have usually enjoyed, and may themselves be put upon the blacklist. Neutral bankers refuse loans to those on the list and neutral merchants decline to contract for their goods, fearing a like proscription. It appears that British officials regard the prohibitions of the blacklist as applicable to domestic commercial transactions in foreign countries as well as in Great Britain and her dependencies, for Americans doing business in foreign countries have been put on notice that their dealings with blacklisted firms are to be regarded as subject to veto by the British Government. By the same principle Americans in the United States might be made subject to similar punitive action if they were found dealing with any of their own countrymen whose names had thus been listed.

The harsh and even disastrous effects of this policy upon the trade of the United States and upon the neutral rights upon which it will not fail to insist are obvious. Upon the list of those proscribed and in effect shut out from the general commerce of the world may be found American concerns which are engaged in large commercial operations as importers of foreign products and materials and as distributors of American products and manufactures to foreign countries and which constitute important channels through which American trade reaches the outside world. Their foreign affiliations may have been fostered for many years, and when once broken cannot easily or promptly be re-established.

Other concerns may be put upon the list at any time and without notice. It is understood that additions to the proscription may be made "whenever on account of enemy nationality or enemy association of such persons or bodies of persons it appears to his Majesty expedient to do so." The possibilities of undeserved injury to American citizens from such measures, arbitrarily taken, and of serious and incalculable interruptions of American trade are without limit.

It has been stated on behalf of his Majesty's Government that these measures were aimed only at the enemies of Great Britain and would be adopted and enforced with strict regard to the rights of neutrals and with the least possible detriment to neutral trade, but it is evident that they are inevitably and essentially inconsistent with the rights of the citizens of all the nations not involved in war. The Government of the United States begs to remind the Government of his Britannic Majesty that citizens of the United States are entirely within their rights in attempting to trade with the people or the Governments of any of the nations now at war, subject only to well-defined international practices and understandings which the Government of the United States deems the Government of Great Britain to have too lightly and too frequently disregarded.

There are well-known remedies and penalties for breaches of blockade, where the blockade is real and in fact effective, for trade in contraband, for every neutral act by whomsoever attempted. The Government of the United States cannot consent to see those remedies and penalties altered or extended at the will of a single power or group of powers to the injury of its own citizens or in derogation of its own rights. Conspicuous among the principles which the civilized nations of the world have accepted for the safeguarding of the rights of neutrals is the just and honorable principle that neutrals may not be condemned nor their goods confiscated, except upon fair adjudication and after an opportunity to be heard in prize courts or elsewhere. Such safeguards the blacklist

brushes aside. It condemns without hearing, without notice, and in advance. It is manifestly out of the question that the Government of the United States should acquiesce in such methods or applications of punishment to its citizens.

What ever may be said with regard to the legality, in the view of international obligation, of the act of Parliament upon which the practice of the blacklist as now employed by his Majesty's Government is understood to be based, the Government of the United States is constrained to regard that practice as inconsistent with that true justice, sincere amity, and impartial fairness which should characterize the dealings of friendly Governments with one another. The spirit of reciprocal trade between the United States and Great Britain, the privilege long accorded to the nationals of each to come and go with their ships and cargoes, to use each the other's shipping, and be served each by the other's merchants is very seriously impaired by arbitrary and sweeping practices such as this.

There is no purpose or inclination on the part of the Government of the United States to shield American citizens or business houses in any way from the legitimate consequences of unneutral acts or practices; it is quite willing that they should suffer the appropriate penalties which international law and the usage of nations have sanctioned; but his Britannic Majesty's Government cannot expect the Government of the United States to consent to see its citizens put upon an ex parte blacklist without calling the attention of his Majesty's Government, in the gravest terms, to the many serious consequences to neutral right and neutral relations which such an act must necessarily involve. It hopes and believes that his Majesty's Government, in its natural absorption in a single pressing object of policy, has acted without a full realization of the many undesired and undesirable results that might ensue.

POLK, Acting.

SPECIAL ADDRESS

[On the Impending Strike of Railroad Employees, Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, August 29, 1916.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I have come to you to seek your assistance in dealing with a very grave situation which has arisen out of the demand of the employees of the railroads engaged in freight train service that they be granted an eight-hour working day, safeguarded by payment for an hour and a half of service for every hour of work beyond the eight.

The matter has been agitated for more than a year. The public has been made familiar with the demands of the men and the arguments urged in favor of them, and even more familiar with the objections of the railroads and their counter demand that certain privileges now enjoyed by their men and certain bases of payment worked out through many years of contest be reconsidered, especially in their relation to the adoption of an eight-hour day. The matter came some three weeks ago to a final issue and resulted in a complete deadlock between the parties. The means provided by law for the mediation of the controversy failed and the means of arbitration for which the law provides were rejected. The representatives of the railway executives proposed that the demands of the men be submitted in their entirety to arbitration, along with certain questions of readjustment as to pay and conditions of employment which seemed to them to be either closely associated with the demands or to call for reconsideration on their own merits; the men absolutely declined arbitration, especially if any of their established privileges were

by that means to be drawn again in question. The law in the matter put no compulsion upon them. The four hundred thousand men from whom the demands proceeded had voted to strike if their demands were refused; the strike was imminent; it has since been set for the 4th of September next. It affects the men who man the freight trains on practically every railway in the country. The freight service throughout the United States must stand still until their places are filled, if, indeed, it should prove possible to fill them at all. Cities will be cut off from their food supplies, the whole commerce of the nation will be paralyzed, men of every sort and occupation will be thrown out of employment, countless thousands will in all likelihood be brought, it may be, to the very point of starvation, and a tragical national calamity brought on, to be added to the other distresses of the time, because no basis of accommodation or settlement has been found.

Just as soon as it became evident that mediation under the existing law had failed and that arbitration had been rendered impossible by the attitude of the men, I considered it my duty to confer with the representatives of both the railways and the brotherhoods, and myself offer mediation, not as an arbitrator, but merely as spokesman of the nation, in the interest of justice, indeed, and as a friend of both parties, but not as judge, only as the representative of one hundred millions of men, women and children who would pay the price, the incalculable price, of loss and suffering should these few men insist upon approaching and concluding the matters in controversy between them merely as employers and employees, rather than as patriotic citizens of the United States looking before and after and accepting the larger responsibility which the public would put upon them.

It seemed to me, in considering the subject-matter of the controversy, that the whole spirit of the time and the preponderant evidence of recent economic experience spoke for the eight-hour day. It has been adjudged by the thought and experience of recent years a thing upon which society is justified in insisting as in the interest of health, efficiency, contentment, and a general increase of economic vigor. The whole presumption of modern experience would, it seemed to me, be in its favor, whether there was arbitration or not, and the debatable points to settle were those which arose out of the acceptance of the eight-hour day rather than those which affected its establishment. I, therefore, proposed that the eight-hour day be adopted by the railway managements and put into practice for the present as a substitute for the existing ten-hour basis of pay and service; that I should appoint, with the permission of the Congress, a small commission to observe the results of the change, carefully studying the figures of the altered operating costs, not only, but also the conditions of labor under which the men worked and the operation of their existing agreements with the railroads, with instructions to report the facts as they found them to

the Congress at the earliest possible day, but without recommendation; and that, after the facts had been thus disclosed, an adjustment should in some orderly manner be sought of all the matters now left unadjusted between the railroad managers and the men.

These proposals were exactly in line, it is interesting to note, with the position taken by the Supreme Court of the United States when appealed to to protect certain litigants from the financial losses which they confidently expected if they should submit to the regulation of their charges and of their methods of service by public legislation. The court has held that it would not undertake to form a judgment upon forecasts, but could base its action only upon actual experience; that it must be supplied with facts, not with calculations and opinions, however scientifically attempted. To undertake to arbitrate the question of the adoption of an eight-hour day in the light of results merely estimated and predicted would be to undertake an enterprise of conjecture. No wise man could undertake it, or, if he did undertake it, could feel assured of his conclusions.

I unhesitatingly offered the friendly services of the administration to the railway managers to see to it that justice was done the railroads in the outcome. I felt warranted in assuring them that no obstacle of law would be suffered to stand in the way of their increasing their revenues to meet the expenses resulting from the change so far as the development of their business and of their administrative efficiency did not prove adequate to meet them. The public and the representatives of the public, I felt justified in assuring them, were disposed to nothing but justice in such cases and were willing to serve those who served them.

The representatives of the brotherhoods accepted the plan; but the representatives of the railroads declined to accept it. In the face of what I cannot but regard as the practical certainty that they will be ultimately obliged to accept the eight-hour day by the concerted action of organized labor, backed by the favorable judgment of society, the representatives of the railway management have felt justified in declining a peaceful settlement which would engage all the forces of justice, public and private, on their side to take care of the event. They fear the hostile influence of shippers, who would be opposed to an increase of freight rates (for which, however, of course, the public itself would pay); they apparently feel no confidence that the Interstate Commerce Commission could withstand the objections that would be made. They do not care to rely upon the friendly assurances of the Congress or the President. They have thought it best that they should be forced to yield, if they must yield, not by counsel, but by the suffering of the country. While my conferences with them were in progress, and when to all outward appearance those conferences had come to a standstill, the representatives of the brotherhoods suddenly acted and set the strike for the 4th of September.

The railway managers based their decision to reject my counsel in this matter upon their conviction that they must at any cost to themselves or to the country stand firm for the principle of arbitration which the men had rejected. I based my counsel upon the indisputable fact that there was no means of obtaining arbitration. The law supplied none; earnest efforts at mediation had failed to influence the men in the least. To stand firm for the principle of arbitration and yet not get arbitration seemed to me futile, and something more than futile, because it involved incalculable distress to the country and consequences in some respects worse than those of war, and that in the midst of peace.

I yield to no man in firm adherence, alike of conviction and of purpose, to the principle of arbitration in industrial disputes; but matters have come to a sudden crisis in this particular dispute and the country had been caught unprovided with any practicable means of enforcing that conviction in practice (by whose fault we will not now stop to inquire). A situation had to be met whose elements and fixed conditions were indisputable. The practical and patriotic course to pursue, as it seemed to me, was to secure immediate peace by conceding the one thing in the demands of the men which society itself and any arbitrators who represented public sentiment were most likely to approve, and immediately lay the foundations for securing arbitration with regard to everything else involved. The event has confirmed that judgment.

I was seeking to compose the present in order to safeguard the future; for I wished an atmosphere of peace and friendly co-operation in which to take counsel with the representatives of the nation with regard to the best means for providing, so far as it might prove possible to provide, against the recurrence of such unhappy situations in the future—the best and most practicable means of securing calm and fair arbitration of all industrial disputes in the days to come. This is assuredly the best way of vindicating a principle, namely, having failed to make certain of its observance in the present, to make certain of its observance in the future.

But I could only propose. I could not govern the will of others who took an entirely different view of the circumstances of the case, who even refused to admit the circumstances to be what they have turned out to be.

Having failed to bring the parties to this critical controversy to an accommodation, therefore, I turn to you, deeming it clearly our duty as public servants to leave nothing undone that we can do to safeguard the life and interests of the nation. In the spirit of such a purpose, I earnestly recommend the following legislation:

First, immediate provision for the enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission along the lines embodied in the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives

and now awaiting action by the Senate; in order that the Commission may be enabled to deal with the many great and various duties now devolving upon it with a promptness and thoroughness which are with its present constitution and means of action practically impossible.

Second, the establishment of an eight-hour day as the legal basis alike of work and of wages in the employment of all railway employees who are actually engaged in the work of operating trains in interstate transportation.

Third, the authorization of the appointment by the President of a small body of men to observe the actual results in experience of the adoption of the eight-hour day in railway transportation alike for the men and for the railroads; its effects in the matter of operating costs, in the application of the existing practices and agreements to the new conditions, and in all other practical aspects, with the provision that the investigators shall report their conclusions to the Congress at the earliest possible date, but without recommendation as to legislative action; in order that the public may learn from an unprejudiced source just what actual developments have ensued.

Fourth, explicit approval by the Congress of the consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase of freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have been rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day and which have not been offset by administrative readjustments and economies, should the facts disclosed justify the increase.

Fifth, an amendment of the existing federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation, and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted.

And, sixth, the lodgement in the hands of the executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways of the country as may be required for military use and to operate them for military purposes, with authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials as the circumstances require for their safe and efficient use.

This last suggestion I make because we cannot in any circumstances suffer the nation to be hampered in the essential matter of national defense. At the present moment circumstances render this duty particularly obvious. Almost the entire military force of the nation is stationed upon the Mexican border to guard our territory against hostile raids. It must be supplied, and steadily supplied, with whatever it needs for its maintenance and efficiency. If it should be necessary for purposes of national defense to transfer any portion of it upon short notice to some

other part of the country, for reasons now unforeseen, ample means of transportation must be available, and available without delay. The power conferred in this matter should be carefully and explicitly limited to cases of military necessity, but in all such cases it should be clear and ample.

There is one other thing we should do if we are true champions of arbitration. We should make all arbitral awards judgments by record of a court of law in order that their interpretation and enforcement may lie, not with one of the parties to the arbitration, but with an impartial and authoritative tribunal.

These things I urge upon you, not in haste or merely as a means of meeting a present emergency, but as permanent and necessary additions to the law of the land, suggested, indeed, by circumstances we had hoped never to see, but imperative as well as just, if such emergencies are to be prevented in the future. I feel that no extended argument is needed to commend them to your favorable consideration. They demonstrate themselves. The time and the occasion only give emphasis to their importance. We need them now and we shall continue to need them.

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE

[Of His Renomination to the Presidency by the Democratic Party. Delivered on the Grounds of Shadow Lawn, at Long Branch, N. J., Sept. 2, 1916.]

SENATOR JAMES, GENTLEMEN OF THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE, FELLOW CITIZENS:

I cannot accept the leadership and responsibility which the National Democratic Convention has again, in such generous fashion, asked me to accept without first expressing my profound gratitude to the party for the trust it reposes in me after four years of fiery trial in the midst of affairs of unprecedented difficulty, and the keen sense of added responsibility with which this honor fills (I had almost said burdens) me as I think of the great issues of national life and policy involved in the present and immediate future conduct of our Government. I shall seek, as I have always sought, to justify the extraordinary confidence thus reposed in me by striving to purge my heart and purpose of every personal and of every misleading party motive and devoting every energy I have to the service of the nation as a whole, praying that I may continue to have the counsel and support of all forward looking men at every turn of the difficult business.

For I do not doubt that the people of the United States will wish the Democratic party to continue in control of the Government. They are not in the habit of rejecting those who have actually served them for those who are making doubtful and conjectural promises of service. Least of all are they likely to substitute those who promised to render

them particular services and proved false to that promise for those who have actually rendered those very services.

Boasting is always an empty business which pleases nobody but the boaster, and I have no disposition to boast of what the Democratic party has accomplished. It has merely done its duty. It has merely fulfilled its explicit promises. But there can be no violation of good taste in calling attention to the manner in which those promises have been carried out or in adverting to the interesting fact that many of the things accomplished were what the opposition party had again and again promised to do but had left undone. Indeed that is manifestly part of the business of this year of reckoning and assessment. There is no means of judging the future except by assessing the past. Constructive action must be weighed against destructive comment and reaction. The Democrats either have or have not understood the varied interests of the country. The test is contained in the record.

What is that record? What were the Democrats called into power to do? What things had long waited to be done, and how did the Democrats do them? It is a record of extraordinary length and variety, rich in elements of many kinds, but consistent in principle throughout and susceptible of brief recital.

The Republican party was put out of power because of failure, practical failure and moral failure; because it had served special interests and not the country at large; because, under the leadership of its preferred and established guides, of those who still make its choices, it had lost touch with the thoughts and the needs of the nation and was living in a past age and under a fixed illusion, the illusion of greatness. It had framed tariff laws based upon a fear of foreign trade, a fundamental doubt as to American skill, enterprise and capacity, and a very tender regard for the profitable privileges of those who had gained control of domestic markets and domestic credits; and yet had enacted anti-trust laws which hampered the very things they meant to foster, which were stiff and inelastic, and in part unintelligible. It had permitted the country throughout the long period of its control to stagger from one financial crisis to another under the operation of a national banking law of its own framing which made stringency and panic certain and the control of the larger business operations of the country by the bankers of a few reserve centers inevitable; had made as if it meant to reform the law, but had faint heartedly failed in the attempt because it could not bring itself to do the one thing necessary to make the reform genuine and effectual, namely, break up the control of small groups of bankers. It had been oblivious, or indifferent, to the fact that the farmers, upon whom the country depends for its food and in the last analysis for its prosperity, were without standing in the matter of commercial credit, without the protection of standards in their market transactions and without systematic knowledge of the markets themselves; that the

laborers of the country, the great army of men who man the industries it was professing to father and promote, carried their labor as a mere commodity to market, were subject to restraint by novel and drastic process in the courts, were without assurance of compensation for industrial accidents, without Federal assistance in accommodating labor disputes and without national aid or advice in finding the places and the industries in which their labor was most needed. The country had no national system of road construction and development. Little intelligent attention was paid to the army, and not enough to the navy. The other republics of America distrusted us because they found that we thought first of the profits of American investors and only as an afterthought of impartial justice and helpful friendship. Its policy was provincial in all things; its purposes were out of harmony with the temper and purpose of the people and the timely development of the nation's interests.

So things stood when the Democratic party came into power. How do they stand now? Alike in the domestic field and in the wide field of the commerce of the world, American business and life and industry have been set free to move as they never moved before.

The tariff has been revised, not on the principle of repelling foreign trade, but upon the principle of encouraging it, upon something like a footing of equality with our own in respect of the terms of competition, and a Tariff Board has been created whose function it will be to keep the relations of American with foreign business and industry under constant observation for the guidance alike of our business men and of our Congress. American energies are now directed toward the markets of the world.

The laws against trusts have been clarified by definition, with a view to making it plain that they were not directed against big business but only against unfair business and the pretense of competition where there was none; and a Trade Commission has been created with powers of guidance and accommodation which have relieved business men of unfounded fears and set them upon the road of hopeful and confident enterprise.

By the Federal reserve act the supply of currency at the disposal of active business has been rendered elastic, taking its volume, not from a fixed body of investment securities, but from the liquid assets of daily trade; and these assets are assessed and accepted, not by distant groups of bankers in control of unavailable reserves, but by bankers at the many centers of local exchange who are in touch with local conditions everywhere.

Effective measures have been taken for the re-creation of an American merchant marine and the revival of the American carrying trade indispensable to our emancipation from the control which foreigners have

so long exercised over the opportunities, the routes and the methods of our commerce with other countries.

The Interstate Commerce Commission is about to be reorganized to enable it to perform its great and important functions more promptly and more efficiently. We have created, extended and improved the service of the parcel post.

So much we have done for business. What other party has understood the task so well or executed it so intelligently and energetically? What other party has attempted it at all? The Republican leaders apparently know of no means of assisting business but "protection." How to stimulate it and put it upon a new footing of energy and enterprise they have not suggested.

For the farmers of the country we have virtually created commercial credit by means of the Federal reserve act and the rural credits act. They now have the standing of other business men in the money market. We have successfully regulated speculation in "futures" and established standards in the marketing of grains. By an intelligent warehouse act we have assisted to make the standard crops available as never before both for systematic marketing and as a security for loans from the banks. We have greatly added to the work of neighborhood demonstration on the farm itself of improved methods of cultivation, and, through the intelligent extension of the functions of the Department of Agriculture, have made it possible for the farmer to learn systematically where his best markets are and how to get at them.

The workingmen of America have been given a veritable emancipation by the legal recognition of a man's labor as part of his life, and not a mere marketable commodity; by exempting labor organizations from processes of the courts which treated their members like fractional parts of mobs and not like accessible and responsible individuals; by releasing our seamen from involuntary servitude; by making adequate provision for compensation for industrial accidents; by providing suitable machinery for mediation and conciliation in industrial disputes, and by putting the Federal Department of Labor at the disposal of the workman when in search of work.

We have effected the emancipation of the children of the country by releasing them from hurtful labor. We have instituted a system of national aid in the building of high roads such as the country has been feeling after for a century. We have sought to equalize taxation by means of an equitable income tax. We have taken the steps that ought to have been taken at the outset to open up the resources of Alaska. We have provided for national defense upon a scale never before seriously proposed upon the responsibility of an entire political party. We have driven the tariff lobby from cover and obliged it to substitute solid argument for private influence,

This extraordinary recital must sound like a platform, a list of sanguine promises, but it is not. It is a record of promises made four years ago and now actually redeemed in constructive legislation.

These things must profoundly disturb the thoughts and confound the plans of those who have made themselves believe that the Democratic party neither understood nor was ready to assist the business of the country in the great enterprise which it is its evident and inevitable destiny to undertake and carry through. The breaking up of the lobby must especially disconcert them, for it was through the lobby that they sought and were sure they had found the heart of things. The game of privilege can be played successfully by no other means.

This record must equally astonish those who feared that the Democratic party had not opened its heart to comprehend the demands of social justice. We have in four years come very near to carrying out the platform of the Progressive party as well as our own; for we also are progressives.

There is one circumstance connected with this program which ought to be very plainly stated. It was resisted at every step by the interests which the Republican party had catered to and fostered at the expense of the country, and these same interests are now earnestly praying for a reaction which will save their privileges—for the restoration of their sworn friends to power before it is too late to recover what they have lost. They fought with particular desperation and infinite resourcefulness the reform of the banking and currency system, knowing that to be the citadel of their control; and most anxiously are they hoping and planning for the amendment of the Federal reserve act by the concentration of control in a single bank which the old familiar group of bankers can keep under their eye and direction. But while the "big men" who used to write the tariffs and command the assistance of the Treasury have been hostile—all but a few with vision—the average business man knows that he has been delivered, and that the fear that was once every day in his heart, that the men who controlled credit and directed enterprise from the committee rooms of Congress would crush him, is there no more, and will not return—unless the party that consulted only the "big men" should return to power—the party of masterly inactivity and cunning resourcefulness in standing pat to resist change.

The Republican party is just the party that cannot meet the new conditions of a new age. It does not know the way and it does not wish new conditions. It tried to break away from the old leaders and could not. They still select its candidates and dictate its policy, still resist change, still hanker after the old conditions, still know no methods of encouraging business but the old methods. When it changes its leaders and its purposes and brings its ideas up to date it will have the right to ask the American people to give it power again; but not until

then. A new age, an age of revolutionary change, needs new purposes and new ideas.

In foreign affairs we have been guided by principles clearly conceived and consistently lived up to. Perhaps they have not been fully comprehended because they have hitherto governed international affairs only in theory, not in practice. They are simple, obvious, easily stated, and fundamental to American ideals.

We have been neutral not only because it was the fixed and traditional policy of the United States to stand aloof from the politics of Europe and because we had had no part either of action or of policy in the influences which brought on the present war, but also because it was manifestly our duty to prevent, if it were possible, the indefinite extension of the fires of hate and desolation kindled by that terrible conflict and seek to serve mankind by reserving our strength and our resources for the anxious and difficult days of restoration and healing which must follow, when peace will have to build its house anew.

The rights of our own citizens of course became involved; that was inevitable. Where they did this was our guiding principle; that property rights can be vindicated by claims for damages and no modern nation can decline to arbitrate such claims; but the fundamental rights of humanity cannot be. The loss of life is irreparable. Neither can direct violations of a nation's sovereignty await vindication in suits for damages. The nation that violates these essential rights must expect to be checked and called to account by direct challenge and resistance. It at once makes the quarrel in part our own. These are plain principles and we have never lost sight of them or departed from them, whatever the stress or the perplexity of circumstance or the provocation to hasty resentment. The record is clear and consistent throughout and stands distinct and definite for any one to judge who wishes to know the truth about it.

The seas were not broad enough to keep the infection of the conflict out of our own politics. The passions and intrigues of certain active groups and combinations of men among us who were born under foreign flags injected the poison of disloyalty into our own most critical affairs, laid violent hands upon many of our industries, and subjected us to the shame of divisions of sentiment and purpose in which America was condemned and forgotten. It is part of the business of this year of reckoning and settlement to speak plainly and act with unmistakable purpose in rebuke of these things, in order that they may be forever hereafter impossible. I am the candidate of a party, but I am above all things else an American citizen. I neither seek the favor nor fear the displeasure of that small alien element among us which puts loyalty to any foreign power before loyalty to the United States.

While Europe was at war our own continent, one of our own neighbors, was shaken by revolution. In that matter, too, principle was

plain and it was imperative that we should live up to it if we were to deserve the trust of any real partisan of the right as free men see it. We have professed to believe, and we do believe, that the people of small and weak states have the right to expect to be dealt with exactly as the people of big and powerful states would be. We have acted upon that principle in dealing with the people of Mexico.

Our recent pursuit of bandits into Mexican territory was no violation of that principle. We ventured to enter Mexican territory only because there were no military forces in Mexico that could protect our border from hostile attack and our own people from violence, and we have committed there no single act of hostility or interference even with the sovereign authority of the Republic of Mexico herself. It was a plain case of the violation of our own sovereignty which could not wait to be vindicated by damages and for which there was no other remedy. The authorities of Mexico were powerless to prevent it.

Many serious wrongs against the property, many irreparable wrongs against the persons of Americans have been committed within the territory of Mexico herself during this confused revolution, wrongs which could not be effectually checked so long as there was no constituted power in Mexico which was in a position to check them. We could not act directly in that matter ourselves without denying Mexicans the right to any revolution at all which disturbed us and making the emancipation of her own people await our own interest and convenience.

For it is their emancipation that they are seeking—blindly, it may be, and as yet ineffectually, but with profound and passionate purpose and within their unquestionable right, apply what true American principle you will—any principle that an American would publicly avow. The people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own country or direct their own institutions. Outsiders, men out of other nations and with interests too often alien to their own, have dictated what their privileges and opportunities should be and who should control their land, their lives and their resources—some of them Americans, pressing for things they could never have got in their own country. The Mexican people are entitled to attempt their liberty from such influences, and so long as I have anything to do with the action of our great Government I shall do everything in my power to prevent any one standing in their way. I know that this is hard for some persons to understand, but it is not hard for the plain people of the United States to understand. It is hard doctrine only for those who wish to get something for themselves out of Mexico. There are men and noble women, too, not a few, of our own people, thank God, whose fortunes are invested in great properties in Mexico who yet see the case with true vision and assess its issues with true American feeling. The rest can be left for the present out of the reckoning until this enslaved people has had its day of struggle toward the light. I have heard no one who was

free from such influences propose interference by the United States with the internal affairs of Mexico. Certainly no friend of the Mexican people has proposed it.

The people of the United States are capable of great sympathies and a noble pity in dealing with problems of this kind. As their spokesman and representative I have tried to act in the spirit they would wish me show. The people of Mexico are striving for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness—15,000,000 oppressed men, overburdened women and pitiful children in virtual bondage in their own home of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasure! Some of the leaders of the revolution may often have been mistaken and violent and selfish, but the revolution itself was inevitable and is right. The unspeakable Huerta betrayed the very comrades he served, traitorously overthrew the government of which he was a trusted part, impudently spoke for the very forces that had driven his people to the rebellion with which he had pretended to sympathize. The men who overcame him and drove him out represent at least the fierce passion of reconstruction which lies at the very heart of liberty; and so long as they represent, however imperfectly, such a struggle for deliverance, I am ready to serve their ends when I can. So long as the power of recognition rests with me the Government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to any one who obtains power in a sister republic by treachery and violence. No permanency can be given the affairs of any republic by a title passed upon intrigue and assassination. I declared that to be the policy of this Administration within three weeks after I assumed the Presidency. I here again vow it. I am more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men and pitiful women and children than in any property rights whatever. Mistakes I have no doubt made in this perplexing business, but not in purpose or object.

More is involved than the immediate destinies of Mexico and the relations of the United States with a distressed and distracted people. All America looks on. Test is now being made of us whether we be sincere lovers of popular liberty or not and are indeed to be trusted to respect national sovereignty among our weaker neighbors. We have undertaken these many years to play big brother to the republics of this hemisphere. This is the day of our test whether we mean, or have ever meant, to play that part for our own benefit wholly or also for theirs. Upon the outcome of that test (its outcome in their minds, not in ours) depends every relationship of the United States with Latin America, whether in politics or in commerce and enterprise. These are great issues and lie at the heart of the gravest tasks of the future, tasks both economic and political and very intimately inwrought with many of the most vital of the new issues of the politics of the world. The republics of America have in the last three years been drawing together in a new spirit of accommodation, mutual understanding and cordial co-operation.

Much of the politics of the world in the years to come will depend upon their relationships with one another. It is a barren and provincial statesmanship that loses sight of such things!

The future, the immediate future, will bring us squarely face to face with many great and exacting problems which will search us through and through whether we be able and ready to play the part in the world that we mean to play. It will not bring us into their presence slowly, gently, with ceremonious introduction, but suddenly and at once, the moment the war in Europe is over. They will be new problems, most of them; many will be old problems in a new setting and with new elements which we have never dealt with or reckoned the force and meaning of before. They will require for their solution new thinking, fresh courage and resourcefulness, and in some matters radical reconsiderations of policy. We must be ready to mobilize our resources alike of brains and of materials.

It is not a future to be afraid of. It is, rather, a future to stimulate and excite us to the display of the best powers that are in us. We may enter it with confidence when we are sure that we understand it—and we have provided ourselves already with the means of understanding it.

Look first at what it will be necessary that the nations of the world should do to make the days to come tolerable and fit to live and work in; and then look at our part in what is to follow and our own duty of preparation. For we must be prepared both in resources and in policy.

There must be a just and settled peace, and we here in America must contribute the full force of our enthusiasm and of our authority as a nation to the organization of that peace upon world-wide foundations that cannot easily be shaken. No nation should be forced to take sides in any quarrel in which its own honor and integrity and the fortunes of its own people are not involved; but no nation can any longer remain neutral as against any wilful disturbance of the peace of the world. The effects of war can no longer be confined to the areas of battle. No nation stands wholly apart in interest when the life and interests of all nations are thrown into confusion and peril. If hopeful and generous enterprise is to be renewed, if the healing and helpful arts of life are indeed to be revived when peace comes again, a new atmosphere of justice and friendship must be generated by means the world has never tried before. The nations of the world must unite in joint guarantees that whatever is done to disturb the whole world's life must first be tested in the court of the whole world's opinion before it is attempted.

These are the new foundations the world must build for itself, and we must play our part in the reconstruction, generously and without too much thought of our separate interests. We must make ourselves ready to play it intelligently, vigorously and well.

One of the contributions we must make to the world's peace is this: We must see to it that the people in our insular possessions are treated

in their own lands as we would treat them here, and make the rule of the United States mean the same thing everywhere—the same justice, the same consideration for the essential rights of men.

Besides contributing our ungrudging moral and practical support to the establishment of peace throughout the world we must actively and intelligently prepare ourselves to do our full service in the trade and industry which are to sustain and develop the life of the nations in the days to come.

We have already been provident in this great matter and supplied ourselves with the instrumentalities of prompt adjustment. We have created, in the Federal Trade Commission, a means of inquiry and of accommodation in the field of commerce which ought both to co-ordinate the enterprises of our traders and manufacturers and to remove the barriers of misunderstanding and of a too technical interpretation of the law. In the new Tariff Commission we have added another instrumentality of observation and adjustment which promises to be immediately serviceable. The Trade Commission substitutes counsel and accommodation for the harsher processes of legal restraint, and the Tariff Commission ought to substitute facts for prejudices and theories. Our exporters have for some time had the advantage of working in the new light thrown upon foreign markets and opportunities of trade by the intelligent inquiries and activities of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce which the Democratic Congress so wisely created in 1912. The Tariff Commission completes the machinery by which we shall be enabled to open up our legislative policy to the facts as they develop.

We can no longer indulge our traditional provincialism. We are to play a leading part in the world drama whether we wish it or not. We shall lend, not borrow; act for ourselves, not imitate or follow; organize and initiate, not peep about merely to see where we may get in.

We have already formulated and agreed upon a policy of law which will explicitly remove the ban now supposed to rest upon co-operation among our exporters in seeking and securing their proper place in the markets of the world. The field will be free, the instrumentalities at hand. It will only remain for the masters of enterprise among us to act in energetic concert, and for the Government of the United States to insist upon the maintenance throughout the world of those conditions of fairness and of evenhanded justice in the commercial dealings of the nations with one another upon which, after all, in the last analysis the peace and ordered life of the world must ultimately depend.

At home also we must see to it that the men who plan and develop and direct our business enterprises shall enjoy definite and settled conditions of law, a policy accommodated to the freest progress. We have set the just and necessary limits. We have put all kinds of unfair competition under the ban and penalty of the law. We have barred monopoly.

These fatal and ugly things being excluded we must now quicken action and facilitate enterprise by every just means within our choice. There will be peace in the business world, and with peace revived confidence and life.

We ought both to husband and to develop our natural resources: our mines, our forests, our water power. I wish we could have made more progress than we have made in this vital matter; and I call once more, with the deepest earnestness and solicitude, upon the advocates of a careful and provident conservation on the one hand and the advocates of a free and inviting field for private capital on the other, to get together in a spirit of genuine accommodation and agreement and set this great policy forward at once.

We must hearten and quicken the spirit and efficiency of labor throughout our whole industrial system by everywhere and in all occupations doing justice to the laborer, not only by paying a living wage, but also by making all the conditions that surround labor what they ought to be. And we must do more than justice. We must safeguard life and promote health and safety in every occupation in which they are threatened or imperiled. That is more than justice and better, because it is humanity and economy.

We must co-ordinate the railway systems of the country for national use, and must facilitate and promote their development with a view to that co-ordination and to their better adaptation as a whole to the life and trade and defense of the nation. The life and industry of the country can be free and unhampered only if these arteries are open, efficient and complete.

Thus shall we stand ready to meet the future as circumstances and international policy affect their unfolding, whether the changes come slowly or come fast and without preface.

I have not spoken explicitly, gentlemen, of the platform adopted at St. Louis; but it has been implicit in all that I have said. I have sought to interpret its spirit and meaning. The people of the United States do not need to be assured now that that platform is a definite pledge, a practical program. We have proved to them that our promises are made to be kept.

We hold very definite ideals. We believe that the energy and initiative of our people have been too narrowly coached and superintended; that they should be set free, as we have set them free, to disperse themselves throughout the nation; that they should not be concentrated in the hands of a few powerful guides and guardians, as our opponents have again and again, in effect if not in purpose, sought to concentrate them. We believe, moreover—who that looks about him now with comprehending eye can fail to believe?—that the day of little Americanism, with its narrow horizons, when methods of “protection” and industrial nursing were the chief study of our provincial statesmen,

are past and gone and that a day of enterprise has at last dawned for the United States whose field is the wide world.

We hope to see the stimulus of that new day draw all America, the republics of both continents, on to a new life and energy and initiative in the great affairs of peace. We are Americans for the big America, and rejoice to look forward to the days in which America shall strive to stir the world without irritating it or drawing it on to new antagonisms, when the nations with which we deal shall at last come to see upon what deep foundations of humanity and justice our passion for peace rests, and when all mankind shall look upon our great people with a new sentiment of admiration, friendly rivalry and real affection, as upon a people who, though keen to succeed, seeks always to be at once generous and just and to whom humanity is dearer than profit or selfish power.

Upon this record and in the faith of this purpose we go to the country.

ADDRESSES

[On the occasion of the acceptance by the War Department of a deed of gift to the nation by the Lincoln Farm Association of the Lincoln Birthplace Farm at Hodgenville, Ky., September 4, 1916.]

No more significant memorial could have been presented to the nation than this. It expresses so much of what is singular and noteworthy in the history of the country; it suggests so many of the things that we prize most highly in our life and in our system of government. How eloquent this little house within this shrine is of the vigor of democracy! There is nowhere in the land any home so remote, so humble, that it may not contain the power of mind and heart and conscience to which nations yield and history submits its processes. Nature pays no tribute to aristocracy, subscribes to no creed of caste, renders fealty to no monarch or master of any name or kind. Genius is no snob. It does not run after titles or seek by preference the high circles of society. It affects humble company as well as great. It pays no special tribute to universities or learned societies or conventional standards of greatness, but serenely chooses its own comrades, its own haunts, its own cradle even, and its own life of adventure and of training. Here is proof of it. This little hut was the cradle of one of the great sons of men, a man of singular, delightful, vital genius who presently emerged upon the great stage of the nation's history, gaunt, shy, ungainly, but dominant and majestic, a natural ruler of men, himself inevitably the central figure of the great plot. No man can explain this, but every man can see how it demonstrates the vigor of democracy, where every door is open, in every hamlet and countryside, in city and wilderness alike, for the ruler to emerge when he will and

claim his leadership in the free life. Such are the authentic proofs of the validity and vitality of democracy.

Here, no less, hides the mystery of democracy. Who shall guess this secret of nature and providence and a free polity? Whatever the vigor and vitality of the stock from which he sprang, its mere vigor and soundness do not explain where this man got his great heart that seemed to comprehend all mankind in its catholic and benignant sympathy, the mind that sat enthroned behind those brooding, melancholy eyes, whose vision swept many an horizon which those about him dreamed not of,—that mind that comprehended what it had never seen, and understood the language of affairs with the ready ease of one to the manner born,—or that nature which seemed in its varied richness to be the familiar of men of every way of life. This is the sacred mystery of democracy, that its richest fruits spring up out of soils which no man has prepared and in circumstances amidst which they are the least expected. This is a place alike of mystery and of reassurance.

It is likely that in a society ordered otherwise than our own Lincoln could not have found himself or the path of fame and power upon which he walked serenely to his death. In this place it is right that we should remind ourselves of the solid and striking facts upon which our faith in democracy is founded. Many another man besides Lincoln has served the nation in its highest places of counsel and of action whose origins were as humble as his. Though the greatest example of the universal energy, richness, stimulation, and force of democracy, he is only one example among many. The permeating and all-pervasive virtue of the freedom which challenges us in America to make the most of every gift and power we possess every page of our history serves to emphasize and illustrate. Standing here in this place, it seems almost the whole of the stirring story.

Here Lincoln had his beginnings. Here the end and consummation of that great life seem remote and a bit incredible. And yet there was no break anywhere between beginning and end, no lack of natural sequence anywhere. Nothing really incredible happened. Lincoln was unaffectedly as much at home in the White House as he was here. Do you share with me the feeling, I wonder, that he was permanently at home nowhere? It seems to me that in the case of a man,—I would rather say of a spirit,—like Lincoln the question *where* he was is of little significance, that it is always *what* he was that really arrests our thought and takes hold of our imagination. It is the spirit always that is sovereign. Lincoln, like the rest of us, was put through the discipline of the world,—a very rough and exacting discipline for him, and indispensable discipline for every man who would know what he is about in the midst of the world's affairs; but his spirit got only its schooling there. It did not derive its character or its vision from the experiences which brought it to its full revelation. The test of every American

must always be, not where he is, but what he is. That, also, is of the essence of democracy, and is the moral of which this place is most gravely expressive.

We would like to think of men like Lincoln and Washington as typical Americans, but no man can be typical who is so unusual as these great men were. It was typical of American life that it should produce such men with supreme indifference as to the manner in which it produced them, and as readily here in this hut as amidst the little circle of cultivated gentlemen to whom Virginia owed so much in leadership and example. And Lincoln and Washington were typical Americans in the use they made of their genius. But there will be few such men at best, and we will not look into the mystery of how and why they come. We will only keep the door open for them always, and a hearty welcome,—after we have recognized them.

I have read many biographies of Lincoln; I have sought out with the greatest interest the many intimate stories that are told of him, the narratives of nearby friends, the sketches at close quarters, in which those who had the privilege of being associated with him have tried to depict for us the very man himself "in his habit as he lived"; but I have nowhere found a real intimate of Lincoln's. I nowhere get the impression in any narrative or reminiscence that the writer had in fact penetrated to the heart of his mystery, or that any man could penetrate to the heart of it. That brooding spirit had no real familiars. I get the impression that it never spoke out in complete self-revelation, and that it could not reveal itself completely to anyone. It was a very lonely spirit that looked out from underneath those shaggy brows and comprehended men without fully communing with them, as if, in spite of all its genial efforts at comradeship, it dwelt apart, saw its visions of duty where no man looked on. There is a very holy and very terrible isolation for the conscience of every man who seeks to read the destiny in affairs for others as well as for himself, for a nation as well as for individuals. That privacy no man can intrude upon. That lonely search of the spirit for the right perhaps no man can assist. This strange child of the cabin kept company with invisible things, was born into no intimacy but that of its own silently assembling and deploying thoughts.

I have come here today, not to utter a eulogy on Lincoln; he stands in need of none, but to endeavor to interpret the meaning of this gift to the nation of the place of his birth and origin. Is not this an altar upon which we may forever keep alive the vestal fire of democracy as upon a shrine at which some of the deepest and most sacred hopes of mankind may from age to age be rekindled? For these hopes must constantly be rekindled, and only those who live can rekindle them. The only stuff that can retain the life-giving heat is the stuff of living hearts. And the hopes of mankind cannot be kept alive by words merely, by constitutions and doctrines of right and codes of liberty.

The object of democracy is to transmute these into the life and action of society, the self-denial and self-sacrifice of heroic men and women willing to make their lives an embodiment of right and service and enlightened purpose. The commands of democracy are as imperative as its privileges and opportunities are wide and generous. Its compulsion is upon us. It will be great and lift a great light for the guidance of the nations only if we are great and carry that light high for the guidance of our own feet. We are not worthy to stand here unless we ourselves be in deed and in truth real democrats and servants of mankind, ready to give our very lives for the freedom and justice and spiritual exaltation of the great nation which shelters and nurtures us.

[Before Woman's Suffrage Convention at Atlantic City, N. J., Sept. 8, 1916.]

MADAM PRESIDENT, LADIES OF THE ASSOCIATION :

I have found it a real privilege to be here tonight and to listen to the addresses which you have delivered. Though you may not all of you believe it, I would a great deal rather hear somebody else speak than speak myself; but I should feel that I was omitting a duty if I did not address you tonight and say some of the things that have been in my thought as I realized the approach of this evening and the duty that would fall upon me.

The astonishing thing about the movement which you represent is, not that it has grown so slowly, but that it has grown so rapidly. No doubt for those who have been a long time in the struggle, like your honored president, it seems a long and arduous path that has been trodden, but when you think of the cumulating force of this movement in recent decades, you must agree with me that it is one of the most astonishing tides in modern history. Two generations ago, no doubt Madam President will agree with me in saying, it was a handful of women who were fighting this cause. Now it is a great multitude of women who are fighting it.

And there are some interesting historical connections which I would like to attempt to point out to you. One of the most striking facts about the history of the United States is that at the outset it was a lawyer's history. Almost all of the questions to which America addressed itself, say a hundred years ago, were legal questions, were questions of method, not questions of what you were going to do with your Government, but questions of how you were going to constitute your Government,—how you were going to balance the powers of the States and the Federal Government, how you were going to balance the claims of property against the processes of liberty, how you were going to make your governments up so as to balance the parts against each other so that the legislature would check the executive, and the executive the legislature, and the courts both of them put together. The

whole conception of government when the United States became a nation was a mechanical conception of government, and the mechanical conception of government which underlay it was the Newtonian theory of the universe. If you pick up the *Federalist*, some parts of it read like a treatise on astronomy instead of a treatise on government. They speak of the centrifugal and the centripetal forces, and locate the President somewhere in the rotating system. The whole thing is a calculation of power and an adjustment of parts. There was a time when nobody but a lawyer could know enough to run the Government of the United States, and a distinguished English publicist once remarked, speaking of the complexity of the American Government, that it was no proof of the excellence of the American Constitution that it had been successfully operated, because the Americans could run any constitution. But there have been a great many technical difficulties in running it.

And then something happened. A great question arose in this country which, though complicated with legal elements, was at bottom a human question, and nothing but a question of humanity. That was the slavery question. And is it not significant that it was then, and then for the first time, that women became prominent in politics in America? Not many women; those prominent in that day were so few that you can name them over in a brief catalogue, but, nevertheless, they then began to play a part in writing, not only, but in public speech, which was a very novel part for women to play in America. After the Civil War had settled some of what seemed to be the most difficult legal questions of our system, the life of the nation began not only to unfold but to accumulate. Life in the United States was a comparatively simple matter at the time of the Civil War. There was none of that underground struggle which is now so manifest to those who look only a little way beneath the surface. Stories such as Dr. Davis has told tonight were uncommon in those simpler days. The pressure of low wages, the agony of obscure and unremunerated toil, did not exist in America in anything like the same proportions that they exist now. And as our life has unfolded and accumulated, as the contacts of it have become hot, as the populations have assembled in the cities, and the cool spaces of the country have been supplanted by the feverish urban areas, the whole nature of our political questions has been altered. They have ceased to be legal questions. They have more and more become social questions, questions with regard to the relations of human beings to one another,—not merely their legal relations, but their moral and spiritual relations to one another. This has been most characteristic of American life in the last few decades, and as these questions have assumed greater and greater prominence, the movement which this association represents has gathered cumulative force. So that, if anybody asks himself, "What does this gathering force mean," if he knows anything about the history

of the country, he knows that it means something that has not only come to stay, but has come with conquering power.

I get a little impatient sometimes about the discussion of the channels and methods by which it is to prevail. It is going to prevail, and that is a very superficial and ignorant view of it which attributes it to mere social unrest. It is not merely because the women are discontented. It is because the women have seen visions of duty, and that is something which we not only can not resist, but, if we be true Americans, we do not wish to resist. America took its origin in visions of the human spirit, in aspirations for the deepest sort of liberty of the mind and of the heart, and as visions of that sort come up to the sight of those who are spiritually minded in America, America comes more and more into her birthright and into the perfection of her development.

So that what we have to realize in dealing with forces of this sort is that we are dealing with the substance of life itself! I have felt as I sat here tonight the wholesome contagion of the occasion. Almost every other time that I ever visited Atlantic City, I came to fight somebody. I hardly know how to conduct myself when I have not come to fight against anybody, but with somebody. I have come to suggest, among other things, that when the forces of nature are steadily working and the tide is rising to meet the moon, you need not be afraid that it will not come to its flood. We feel the tide; we rejoice in the strength of it; and we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of it. Because, when you are working with masses of men and organized bodies of opinion, you have got to carry the organized body along. The whole art and practice of government consists, not in moving individuals, but in moving masses. It is all very well to run ahead and beckon, but, after all, you have got to wait for the body to follow. I have not come to ask you to be patient, because you have been, but I have come to congratulate you that there was a force behind you that will beyond any peradventure be triumphant, and for which you can afford a little while to wait.

REPLY OF THE ENTENTE ALLIES TO AN AMERICAN PROTEST
NOT MADE PUBLIC, AGAINST INTERFERENCE WITH
AMERICAN MAILS ON THE HIGH SEAS.

OCTOBER 15, 1916.

I—By a letter of May 24 last the Secretary of State of the United States was pleased to give the views of the American Government on the memorandum of the allied Governments concerning mails found on merchant ships on the high seas.

The allied Governments have found that their views agreed with the views of the United States in regard to the Postal Union Convention, which is recognized on both sides to be foreign to the questions now under consideration; post parcels receptively recognized as being under the common rule of merchandise subject to exercise of belligerent right, as provided by international law; the inspection of private mails to the end of ascertaining whether they do not contain contraband goods, and, if carried on an enemy ship, whether they do not contain enemy property. It is clear that that inspection, which necessarily implies the opening of covers so as to verify the contents, could not be carried on on board

without being attended with great confusion, causing serious delay to the mails, passengers and cargoes, and without causing for the letters in transit errors, losses, or at least great risk of miscarriage.

That is the reason why the allies had mail bags landed and sent to centers provided with the necessary force and equipment for prompt and regular handling.

2—In all this the allied Governments had no other object in view than to limit, as far as possible, the inconvenience that might result for innocent mails and neutral vessels from the legitimate exercise of their belligerent rights in respect to hostile correspondence.

3—The Government of the United States acknowledges it agrees with the allied Governments as to principle, but expresses certain divergent views and certain criticism as to the methods observed by the allies in applying these principles.

4—These divergencies of views and criticisms are as follows:

5—In the first place, according to the Government of the United States, the practice of the allied Governments is said to be contrary to their own declaration, in that while declaring themselves unwilling to seize and confiscate genuine mail on the high seas, they would obtain the same result by sending, with or without their consent, neutral vessels to allied ports, there to effect the seizures and confiscations above referred to, and thus exercise over those vessels a more extensive belligerent right than that which is theirs on the high seas. According to the Government of the United States there should be, in point of law, no distinction to be made between seizure of mails on the high seas, which the allies have declared they will not apply for the present, and the same seizure practiced on board ships that are, whether willingly or not, in an allied port.

6—On this first point, and as regards vessels summoned on the high seas and compelled to make for an allied port, the allied Governments have the honor to advise the Government of the United States that they have never subjected mails to a different treatment according as they were found on neutral vessels compelled to proceed to an allied port; they have always acknowledged that visits made in port after a forced change of course must in this respect be on the same footing as a visit on the high seas, and the criticism formulated by the Government of the United States does not, therefore, seem warranted.

7—As to ships which of their own accord call at allied ports it is important to point out that in this case they are really "voluntarily" making the call. In calling at an allied port the master acts, not on any order from the allied authorities, but solely carries out the instructions of the owner; neither are those instructions forced upon the said owner.

In consideration of certain advantages derived from the call at an allied port, of which he is at full liberty to enjoy or refuse the benefits, the owner instructs his captain to call at this or that port. He does not in truth undergo any restraint.

As a point of law the allied Governments think it a rule generally accepted, particularly in the United States (*United States v. Dickelman*, U. S. Supreme Court, 1875; 92 U. S. Rep. 520; *Scott's cases*, 264), that merchant ships which enter a foreign port thereby place themselves under the laws in force in that port, whether in time of war or of peace, and when martial law is in force in that port.

8—Therefore, legitimate in the case of a neutral merchant ship entering an allied port for the authorities of the allied Government to make sure that the vessel carries nothing inimical to their national defense before granting its clearance.

The note declares the censorship is a necessary precaution against German wiles, and innocent neutrals have nothing to fear. It continues:

In the second place, according to the Government of the United States, the practice now followed by the allied Governments is contrary to the rule of Convention 11 of The Hague, 1907, which they declare their willingness to apply, and would, besides, constitute a violation of the practice heretofore followed by nations.

9—In regard to the value to be attached to the eleventh convention of The Hague, 1907, it may first of all be observed that it refers only to mails found at sea, and that it is entirely foreign to postal correspondence found on board ships in ports.

In the second place, from the standpoint of the peculiar circumstances of the present war, the Government of the United States is aware that that convention, as stated in the memorandum of the allies, has not been signed or ratified by six of the belligerent powers (Bulgaria, Italy, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia and Turkey); that for that very reason Germany availed itself of Article IX. of the

convention and denied, so far as it was concerned, the obligatory character in these stipulations, and that for these several reasons the convention possesses in truth but rather doubtful validity in law.

In spite of it all, the allied Governments are guided in the case of mails found on board ships in ports by the intentions expressly manifested in conferences of The Hague sanctioned in the preamble to convention II, and tending to protect pacific and innocent commerce only. Mails possessing that character are forwarded as quickly as circumstances permit.

In regard to mails found on vessels at sea, the allied Governments have not for the present refused to observe the terms of the convention reasonably interpreted; but they have not admitted and cannot admit that there is therein a final provision legally binding them from which they could not possibly depart. The allied Governments expressly reserve to themselves the right to do so in case enemy abuses and frauds, dissimulations and deceits should make such a measure necessary.

Paragraph 10 points out lack of precedent prohibiting seizure of mails on the high seas. Paragraph 11 details circumstances in which unresisted passage of mails would prove disadvantageous to a belligerent. The note continues:

12—The report adopted by the conference of The Hague in support of convention II leaves little doubt as to the former practice in the matter.

"These issues, opening the bags, examination, confiscation, if need be, in all cases delay or even loss, are the fate usually awaiting mail bags carried by sea in time of war. (Second peace conference, acts and documents, Vol. I, 6, 266.)

13—The American note of May 24, 1916, invokes the practice followed by France in 1870; by the United States in 1898; by Great Britain in the South African war; by Japan and Russia in 1904, and now by Germany.

14—As regards the proceedings of the German Empire toward postal correspondence during the present war, the allied Governments have informed the Government of the United States of the names of some of the mail steamers whose mail bags have been—not examined to be sure—but purely and simply destroyed at sea by the German naval authorities.

Other names could very easily be added—the very recent case of the mail steamer Hudikswell (Swedish) carrying 670 mail bags, may be cited.

15—The allied Governments do not think that the criminal habit of sinking ships, passengers and cargoes, or abandoning on the high seas the survivors of such calamities is, in the eyes of the Government of the United States, any justification for the destruction of the mail bags on board; and they do not deem it to be its purpose to make a comparison between these destructive German proceedings and the acts of the allies in supervising and examining enemy correspondence.

16—As to the practice of Russia and of Japan, it may be permitted to a doubt that it was at variance with the method of the allied Governments in the present war.

Paragraphs 17 and 18 point out procedure adopted by Russia in her war with Turkey in 1877 and the war with Japan in 1904. They cite the seizure of neutral mail by Russian cruisers and its subsequent examination.

19—As regards the practice of Japan, the Japanese rules concerning prizes, dated March 15, 1904, made official enemy correspondence, with certain exceptions, contraband of war. They ordered the examination of mail bags on mail steamers unless there was on board an official of the post office making a declaration in writing and under oath that the bags contained no contraband.

20—The French practice during the war of 1870 is found outlined in the naval instructions of July 26, 1870, under which official dispatches were on principle assimilated to contraband, and official or private letters found on board captured vessels were to be sent immediately to the Minister of Marine.

21—During the South African war the British Government was able to limit its intervention in the forwarding of postal correspondence and mails as far as the circumstances of that war allowed, but it did not cease to exercise its supervision of the mails intended for the enemy.

22—As to the practice followed by the Government of the United States during the American Civil War, particularly in the Peterhoff case, cited in the American memorandum of May 24, 1916, the following instructions issued in that case by the Secretary of State of the United States do not seem to imply anything but the forwarding of correspondence which has been found to be innocent:

"I have, therefore, to recommend that in this case if the District Attorney has any evidence to show the mails are simulated and not genuine it shall be submitted

to the court; if there be no reasonable grounds for that belief then that they be put on their way to their original destination."

(Letter of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, April 15, 1863; vii. Moore's dig., P. 482.)

Paragraph 23 recounts the American blockade of Tampico during the Mexican War in 1846 and the American naval authorities' permission to neutral mail ships to enter and leave. The note then says no precedent can be based on this, declaring:

24—It seems difficult to compare the blockade of the port of Tampico in 1846 with the measures taken by the allies in the course of this war to reduce the economic resistance of the German Empire, or to find in the method then adopted by the United States a precedent which condemns the practice now put in use by the allied governments.

25—To waive the right to visit mail steamers and mail bags intended for the enemy seemed in the past (Dr. Lushington, "Naval Prize Law," *Introd.* p. VII.) a sacrifice which could hardly be expected of belligerents.

The allied Governments have again noted in their preceding memorandum how and why, relying on certain declarations of Germany, they had thought in the course of the Second Peace Conference of 1907 they could afford to waive that right. They have also drawn the attention of the Government of the United States to the fraudulent use Germany hastened to make of this waiver of the previous practices above mentioned.

26—After pointing to a certain number of specific cases where American interests happened to be injured from the postal supervision exercised by the British authorities, forming the subject of the special memorandum of the Government of His Majesty, dated July 20, 1916, the Government of the United States was pleased to make known its views as to what is to be and is not to be recognized as not possessing the character of postal correspondence.

27—In this respect the Government of the United States admits that shares, bonds, coupons and other valuable papers, money orders, checks, drafts, bills of exchange and other negotiable papers, being the equivalent of money, may when included in postal shipments be considered as of the same nature as merchandise and other property, and therefore be also subjected to the exercise of belligerent rights.

28—Yet the American memorandum adds that correspondence, including shipping documents, lists of money orders and documents of this nature, even though referring to shipments to or exports by the enemy, must be treated as mail, and pass freely unless they refer to merchandise on the same ship that is liable to capture.

29—As regards shipping documents and commercial correspondence found on neutral vessels, even in an allied port, and offering no interest of consequence as affecting the war, the allied governments have instructed their authorities not to stop them, but to see that they are forwarded with as little delay as possible. Mail matter of that nature must be forwarded to destination as fast as practicable, on the very ship on which it was found, or by a speedier route, as is the case for certain mails inspected in Great Britain.

30—As for the lists of money orders, to which the Government of the United States assigns the character of ordinary mail, the allied governments deem it their duty to draw the attention of the Government of the United States to the following practical consideration:

31—As a matter of fact the list of money orders mailed from the United States to Germany and Austria-Hungary correspond to moneys paid in the United States and payable by the German and Austria-Hungarian post office.

Those lists acquaint those post offices with the sums that have been paid there, which in consequence they have to pay to the addressees. In practice, such payment is at the disposal of such addressees and is effected directly to them as soon as those lists arrive and without the requirement of the individual orders having come into the hands of the addressees. These lists are thus really actually money orders transmitted in lump in favor of several addressees.

Nothing, in the opinion of the allied governments, seems to justify the liberty granted to the enemy country so to receive funds intended to supply by that amount its financial resisting power.

32—The American memorandum sees fit firmly to recall that neutral and belligerent rights are equally sacred, and must be strictly respected. The allied Governments, so far as they are concerned, wholly share that view. They are sincerely striving to avoid an encroachment by the exercise of their belligerent

rights on the legitimate exercise of the rights of innocent neutral commerce, but they hold that it is their belligerent right to exercise on the high seas the supervision granted by international law to impede any transportation intended to aid their enemy in the conduct of the war and to uphold his resistance.

The rights of the United States as a neutral power cannot, in our opinion, imply the protection granted by the Federal Government to shipments, invoices, correspondence or communications in any shape whatever having an open or concealed hostile character and with a direct or indirect hostile destination, which American private persons can only effect at their own risk and peril.

That is the very principle which was expressly stated by the President of the United States in his neutrality proclamation.

33—Furthermore, should any abuses, grave errors, or derelictions committed by the allied authorities charged with the duty of inspecting mails be disclosed to the Governments of France and Great Britain, they are now as they ever were ready to settle responsibility therefor in accordance with the principles of law and justice, which it never was and is not now their intention to evade.

MESSAGE TO THE PHILIPPINES

[Congratulating the People of the Islands Upon the Assembling of the First Congress of Natives.]

President Wilson, through Secretary of War Baker, sent to Governor-General Harrison, of the Philippines, a message congratulating him on the convention of the Assembly and Senate of the islands, for the first time composed entirely of natives.

October 16, 1916.

Will you not be kind enough to convey to the members of the Legislature, the first to meet under the new act, my most cordial greetings and best wishes, and will you not express to them the hope that the confidence that has been reposed in them by the people and the Government of the United States will be most abundantly vindicated by their whole course of action and policy? For myself, I look forward with confidence to the growth of self-government in the Philippines under this new and happier order of things and am glad to have had a part in taking the great step in advance which has now been taken.

WOODROW WILSON.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Requiring American Citizens Traveling Abroad to Procure Passports.]

All persons leaving the United States for foreign countries should be provided with passports of the Governments of which they are citizens. These documents are rendered necessary because the regulations of all European countries and of several other foreign countries require passports or other documents of identification of all persons who enter their boundaries. The Secretary of State, in co-operation with the Secretary of the Treasury, will make arrangements for the inspection of passports of all persons, American or foreign, leaving this country, and the fact that these passports have been seen will be stamped thereon.

All applications to the Secretary of State for passports from American citizens must be made in duplicate, and must be accompanied with three copies of the photograph of the applicant. Each applicant for a passport must inform the Department of State at what point he intends to depart, on what date, and by what ship if he sails from an American port.

Applications shall be made in the manner heretofore prescribed by the rules governing the granting and issuing of passports, but the Secretary of State may designate an agent or agents to take applications, and wherever his agent is stationed applications shall be made only before him.

This order will become effective as soon as the Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury have made the arrangements necessary for that purpose.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, December 15, 1915.

[Relating to Cancellation and Reissue of Passports.]

The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to direct customs officers at ports of entry into the United States to take up passports of American citizens returning to this country. Passports which are not to be used again may be canceled and returned to the owners. Passports which are to be used again should be sent to the Department of State, and the owners informed that they should notify the Department of State, at least five days before they expect to leave this country again, as to the port, name of vessel and date of sailing. If such a person expects to go abroad for an object not mentioned in his passport, or to visit a country not named therein, he should make application in the usual way for a new passport.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 13, 1916.

[Philippines—Requiring Governor General to Report to Secretary of War.]

The following provision is contained in Section 21 of an Act of Congress approved August 29, 1916, entitled:

“An Act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands.”—

. . . “He (the Governor General of the Philippine Islands) shall annually and at such other times as he may be required make such official report of the transactions of the government of the Philippine Islands to an executive department of the United States to be designated by the President, and his said annual report shall be transmitted to the Congress of the United States; And he shall perform such additional duties and functions as may in pursuance of law be delegated or assigned to him by the President.”

Under this provision hereafter all official reports which the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands may be required to make of the transactions of the Government of the Philippine Islands will be made to the War Department, and all matters pertaining to the Government of the Philippine Islands, except as otherwise provided by law, are placed in the jurisdiction of that department.

The business of the War Department pertaining to civil government in the Philippine Islands is, pursuant to Section 87 of the Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902, assigned to the Bureau of Insular Affairs.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, September 19, 1916.

[Alaska.—Regulations for sale of the Federal and Cliff Additions to Seward Townsite, Alaska.]

Pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress, approved March 12, 1914 (38 Stat., 305), it is hereby ordered that the disposition of the lots in the Federal and Cliff Additions to the townsite of Seward, Alaska, shall be in accordance with the regulations contained in Executive Order No. 2214, issued June 19, 1915, except as to terms of sale, restrictions as to use of lots purchased, forfeiture for failure to comply with restrictions, and time as to issuance of entry and patent, which shall be as follows:

TERMS.—No lot will be sold for less than \$25.00, and no bid exceeding that amount will be accepted unless made in multiples of five dollars; the minimum of \$25.00 on each lot sold for less than \$50.00 must be paid in cash within the time hereinafter specified, and if the price bid is \$50.00 or more, one-half of the bid price must be paid in cash within said specified time and the remainder within one year from the date of the register's certificate of sale, or the entire purchase price may be paid at the time of sale. The successful bidder will be given by the Superintendent of Sale a memorandum certificate for identification purposes, showing name and address of bidder, lot, and amount of bid, and the bidder must file it with the Superintendent of Sale before the close of the next succeeding sale day, or the next business day, if bid is accepted on last preceding sale day, together with his application to purchase the lot properly filled and signed and accompanied by the cash payment required by these regulations. The application should be, in substance, as follows:

"I, ..., post office address, having been declared the successful bidder for lot No., Block No., in the Addition to the townsite of Seward, Alaska, as delineated and designated on the approved plat thereof, containing square feet, do hereby apply to purchase said lot, subject to all the regulations governing the sale thereof, and agree to pay therefor the amount bid by me, viz:— dollars (\$.....), on the terms prescribed by said regulations, and upon failure to pay any installment on or before the day the same

becomes due, all rights under this application, together with the payments theretofore made, may be forfeited to the United States by the Secretary of the Interior."

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 11, 1916.

[Increasing the Strength of the Regular Army.]

Under authority of the Joint Resolution of Congress, approved March 17, 1916, an emergency having arisen making necessary an increase in the enlisted strength of the Regular Army within the continental limits of the United States, the arms of the service are hereby brought up to the statutory maximum enlisted strength as set forth in the following tabulated statement.

<i>Arms of the service.</i>	<i>Statutory maximum enlisted strength.</i>
20 regiments of Infantry.....	36,720
11 regiments, and regimental headquarters and two squadrons of Cavalry	14,469
3 regiments, and regimental headquarters and one battalion of Field Artillery.....	4,172
Coast Artillery Corps.....	19,321
Engineers	2,002

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 21, 1916.

Establishing Sizes and Proportions of the American Flag and the President's Flag

THE WHITE HOUSE, May 29, 1916.

The Executive Order of October 29, 1912, is hereby revoked, and for it is substituted the following:—

Whereas, "An Act to Establish the Flag of the United States," approved on the 4th of April, 1818, reading as follows:—

"Section 1. Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the fourth day of July next, the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be twenty stars, white in a blue field.

"Section 2. And be it further enacted, That on the admission of every new State into the Union, one star be added to the union of the flag; and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth of July then next succeeding such admission."

fails to establish proportions;

Whereas, investigation shows some sixty-six different sizes of National flags, and of varying proportions, in use in the Executive Departments;

It is hereby ordered that National Flags and Union Jacks for all Departments of the Government, with the exception noted under (a), shall conform to the following proportions:—

Hoist (width) of Flag.... 1	* Fly (length) of Union.... .76
Fly (length) of Flag..... 1.9	Width of each stripe..... 1/13
Hoist (width) of Union... 7/13	

(a) Exception: The colors carried by troops, and camp colors, shall be the sizes prescribed for the Military Service (Army and Navy).

Limitation of the number of sizes: With the exception of colors under note (a), the sizes of flags manufactured or purchased for the Government Departments will be limited to those with the following hoists:

(1) 20 feet	(7) 5.14 feet
(2) (Standard) 19 feet	(8) 5 feet
(3) 14.35 feet	(9) 3.52 feet
(4) 12.19 feet	(10) 2.90 feet
(5) 10 feet	(11) 2.37 feet
(6) 8.94 feet	(12) 1.31 feet

Union Jacks: The size of the Jack shall be the size of the Union of the National Flag with which it is flown.

Position and Size of Stars: The position and size of each star for the Union of the flag shall be as indicated on a plan which will be furnished to the Departments by the Navy Department. From this plan can be determined the location and size of stars for flags of any dimensions. Extra blue-prints of this plan will be furnished upon application to the Navy Department.

Order effective: All National Flags and Union Jacks now on hand or for which contracts have been awarded shall be continued in use until unserviceable, but all those manufactured or purchased for Government use after the date of this order shall conform strictly to the dimensions and proportions herein prescribed.

President's Flag: The President's flag shall be in accordance with the plan accompanying and forming a part of this order. In case sizes are needed other than the two sizes shown on the plan, they shall be manufactured in the same proportions as those shown.

WOODROW WILSON.

[NOTE.—This order was accompanied with illustration (in color) and design of the President's flag, showing solid blue field with eagle in centre bearing shield with red bars; white star at each corner; legend: E Pluribus Unum.]

PROCLAMATIONS

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

A PROCLAMATION

[Flag Day.]

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

Many circumstances have recently conspired to turn our thoughts to a critical examination of the conditions of our national life, of the influences which have seemed to threaten to divide us in interest and sympathy, of forces within and forces without that seemed likely to

draw us away from the happy traditions of united purpose and action of which we have been so proud. It has therefore seemed to me fitting that I should call your attention to the approach of the anniversary of the day upon which the flag of the United States was adopted by the Congress as the emblem of the Union, and to suggest to you that it should this year and in years to come be given special significance as a day of renewal and reminder, a day upon which we should direct our minds with a special desire of renewal to thoughts of the ideals and principles of which we have sought to make our great Government the embodiment.

I therefore suggest and request that throughout the nation and if possible in every community the fourteenth day of June be observed as Flag Day with special patriotic exercises, at which means shall be taken to give significant expression to our thoughtful love of America, our comprehension of the great mission of liberty and justice to which we have devoted ourselves as a people, our pride in the history and our enthusiasm for the political program of the nation, our determination to make it greater and purer with each generation, and our resolution to demonstrate to all the world its vital union in sentiment and purpose, accepting only those as true compatriots who feel as we do the compulsion of this supreme allegiance. Let us on that day rededicate ourselves to the nation, "one and inseparable," from which every thought that is not worthy of our fathers' first vows in independence, liberty, and right shall be excluded and in which we shall stand with united hearts, for an America which no man can corrupt, no influence draw away from its ideals, no force divide against itself,—a nation signally distinguished among all the nations of mankind for its clear, individual conception alike of its duties and its privileges, its obligations and its rights.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this thirtieth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen,
[SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fortieth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Contribution Day for Aid of Stricken Jewish People.]

WHEREAS, I have received from the Senate of the United States a Resolution, passed January 6, 1916, reading as follows:

"Whereas in the various countries now engaged in war there are nine millions of Jews, the great majority of whom are destitute of food, shelter, and clothing; and

"Whereas millions of them have been driven from their homes without warning, deprived of an opportunity to make provision for their most elementary wants, causing starvation, disease and untold suffering; and

"Whereas the people of the United States of America have learned with sorrow of this terrible plight of millions of human beings and have most generously responded to the cry for help whenever such an appeal has reached them; Therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That, in view of the misery, wretchedness, and hardships which these nine millions of Jews are suffering, the President of the United States be respectfully asked to designate a day on which the citizens of this country may give expression to their sympathy by contributing to the funds now being raised for the relief of the Jews in the war zones."

AND WHEREAS, I feel confident that the people of the United States will be moved to aid the war-stricken people of a race which has given to the United States so many worthy citizens;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, in compliance with the suggestion of the Senate thereof, do appoint and proclaim January 27, 1916, as a day upon which the people of the United States may make such contributions as they feel disposed for the aid of the stricken Jewish people.

Contributions may be addressed to the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C., which will care for their proper distribution.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this eleventh day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen,
[SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and fortieth.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

[Waiving Citizenship Requirement for Specified Federal Appointment.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 30, 1916.

The requirement of the United States citizenship is hereby waived to permit the certification of Mr. Cedric R. Landon for appointment to the position of predatory animal inspector, Bureau of Biological Survey, Department of Agriculture, for service in the State of Texas. Mr. Landon was born in Canada in 1887, was in Texas for a while during his minority, and declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States on November 13, 1914. He had been serving temporarily

in the position to which appointment is desired, and was admitted to examination conditionally and passed with a rating of 84.75 but can not be certified under existing rules.

The Secretary of Agriculture states that Mr. Landon has had charge of a force of about a dozen hunter-trappers, is a good executive, energetic, resourceful, very tactful in dealing with stockmen with whom he comes in contact, well qualified to handle the accounts and correspondence incident to his position, and very successful in instructing individual hunters. These qualifications together with his intimate knowledge of the country and local conditions (almost indispensable requirements for an inspector) are said to make his services very desirable, particularly in the sparsely settled regions of central and western Texas. He is the only competitor from the section of the country where he is employed.

This order is issued on the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture with the concurrence of the Civil Service Commission.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Amending Consular Regulations.]

THE WHITE HOUSE, September 28, 1916.

Paragraph 692 of the Consular Regulations of 1896 is hereby amended to read as follows:

Currency Certificates.—When the price or value of merchandise obtained by purchase, shipped pursuant to an agreement of purchase, or consigned for sale in the United States is expressed in the invoice in depreciated currency, a currency certificate (form 144) must be attached to the invoice showing the percentage of depreciation as compared with the corresponding standard coin currency and the value in such standard coin currency of the total amount of the depreciated currency stated in the invoice. (Rev. Stat., Sec. 2903; T. D. 17252.) This certificate should show, not the value of the depreciated currency in money of account of the United States, but its value in the terms of the standard coin currency in comparison with which the currency stated in the invoice is depreciated. (T. D. 11314, 17170.)

In the assessment of duty the currency of the invoice is reduced to the money of account of the United States upon the basis of the values of foreign coins at the date of shipment, as proclaimed by the Secretary of the Treasury for the first day of January, April, July, and October of each year. (Tariff of 1894, Sec. 25; T. D. 16921.) The date of the consular certification of any invoice shall, for the purposes of this section, be considered the date of exportation. (Tariff of 1894, Sec. 25.) In the absence of a currency certificate no allowance will be made for depreciated currency. (T. D. 15435.)

When an invoice is certified by a consul of a nation at the time in

amity with the United States, or by two respectable merchants, as provided by section 2844, Revised Statutes, the currency certificate required by section 2903, Revised Statutes, may be issued by the foreign consul of the two respectable merchants who certify the invoice.

For statistical purposes, currency certificates are required for all invoices of merchandise wherein the price or value is expressed in depreciated currency, without regard to the dutiable or nondutiable character of the merchandise.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, September 28, 1916.

Paragraph 172 of the Consular Regulations is amended to read as follows:

Registration of American Citizens.—Principal Consular Officers shall keep at their offices a Register of all American citizens residing in their several districts, and will therefore make it known that such a Register is kept and invite all resident Americans to cause their names to be entered therein. Except in cases of emergency no person shall be given a certificate of registration until his application for registration has been approved by the Department. The general principles which govern applications for passports also govern applications for registration. (Paragraph 151.) The forms of application for registration will be prescribed by the Secretary of State.

The Register, which will consist of sworn applications approved by the Department, should show in the case of each person registered the date of registration, the full name of the person registered, the date and place of his birth, the place of his last domicile in the United States, the date of his arrival in the foreign country where he is residing and his place of residence therein, the reasons for his foreign residence, whether or not he is married and if married the name of his wife, her place of birth and residence, if he has children, the name, date and place of birth and residence of each, and any other pertinent information which the Department of State may require. The nature of the proof accepted to establish his citizenship should also appear.

Consuls may issue, upon forms prescribed by the Department, certificates of registration good for one year, for use with the authorities of the place where the persons registered are residing. When a certificate expires a new one may be issued, the old one being surrendered and destroyed, or the original certificate may be renewed for a period of one year if it is clearly shown that the applicant has not expatriated himself. Persons who hold passports which have not expired shall not be furnished with certificates of registration, and it is strictly forbidden to furnish them to be used for traveling in the place of passports, except in cases of extraordinary emergency when the Department of State shall expressly authorize their use for this purpose.

Returns of all registrations and of all certificates of registration issued shall be made at intervals and under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State is authorized to make regulations concerning registration additional to these rules and not inconsistent with them.

No fee shall be required for registration nor for any service connected therewith, except for the issuance of a certificate of registration, for which a fee of one dollar shall be required.

The Tariff of the United States Consular Fees is hereby amended by the addition thereto of the following paragraph:

Certificate of registration of an American citizen.\$1.00

This order shall go into effect November 15, 1916.

WOODROW WILSON.

BRITISH REPLY TO THE AMERICAN PROTEST AGAINST THE BLACKLIST.

The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Ambassador W. H. Page:

FOREIGN OFFICE, London, Oct. 10, 1916.

Your Excellency—His Majesty's Government have had under consideration the note which *Your Excellency* was good enough to communicate to me on the 28th July last, with respect to the addition of certain firms in the United States of America to the statutory list compiled and issued in accordance with "the trading with the Enemy (extension of powers) Act 1915."

You will recall that shortly after this Act became law I had the honor, in my note of the 16th February last, in reply to your note of the 26th January, to explain the object of the Act. It is a piece of purely municipal legislation, and provides that His Majesty may by proclamation prohibit persons in the United Kingdom from trading with any persons in foreign countries who might be specified in such proclamations or in any subsequent orders. It also imposes appropriate penalties upon persons in the United Kingdom who violate the provisions of this statute.

That is all. His Majesty's Government neither purport nor claim to impose any disabilities or penalties upon neutral individuals or upon neutral commerce. The measure is simply one which enjoins those who owe allegiance to Great Britain to cease having trade relations with persons who are found to be assisting or rendering service to the enemy.

I can scarcely believe that the United States Government intend to challenge the right of Great Britain as a sovereign State to pass legislation prohibiting all those who owe her allegiance from trading with any specified persons when such prohibition is found necessary in the public interest. The right to do so is so obvious that I feel sure that the protest which your Excellency handed to me has been founded on a misconception of the scope and intent of the measures which have been taken.

This view is strengthened by some of the remarks which are made in the note. It is, for instance, stated that these measures are "inevitably and essentially inconsistent with the rights of the citizens of all nations not involved in war."

The note then proceeds to point out that citizens of the United States are entirely within their rights in attempting to trade with any of the nations now at war. His Majesty's Government readily admit that the citizens of every neutral nation are free to trade with belligerent countries. The United States Government will, no doubt, equally readily admit that they do so subject to the right of the other belligerent to put an end to that trade by every means within his power which is recognized by international law by such measures, for instance, as the seizure of neutral goods on contraband or for breach of blockade, etc.

The legislation, however, to which exception is taken does not belong to that class of measures. It is purely municipal. It is an exercise of the sovereign right of an independent State over its own citizens, and nothing more.

This fact has not, I feel sure, been fully realized by the Government of the United States of America, for the note maintains that the Government cannot consent to see these remedies and penalties altered and extended at will in derogation of the rights of its citizens, and says that "conspicuous among the principles which the civilized nations of the world have accepted for the safeguarding of the rights of neutrals is the just and honorable principle that neutrals may not be condemned nor their goods confiscated except upon fair adjudication and after an opportunity to be heard in prize courts or elsewhere."

As I have said above, the legislation merely prohibits persons in the United Kingdom from trading with certain specified individuals who, by reason of their nationality or of their association, are found to support the cause of the enemy and trading with whom will therefore strengthen that cause. So far as that legislation is concerned, no rights or property of these specified individuals are interfered with; neither they nor their property are condemned or confiscated; they are as free as they were before to carry on their business. The only disability they suffer is that British subjects are prohibited from giving to them the support and assistance of British credit and British property.

The steps which His Majesty's Government are taking under the above-mentioned act are not confined to the United States of America; the policy is only pursued in all neutral countries. Nay, more, with the full consent of the allied countries, are being placed on the statutory list if they are firms with whom it is necessary to prevent British subjects from trading.

These considerations may, perhaps, serve to convince the Government of the United States that the measures now being taken are not directed against neutral trade in particular; they are part of the general belligerent operations designed to weaken the enemy's resources.

I do not read your note of the 28th July as maintaining that His Majesty's Government are obliged by any rule of international law to give to those who are actively assisting the cause of their enemies, whether they be established in neutral or in enemy territory, the facilities which flow from participation in British commerce. Any such proposition would be so manifestly untenable, that there is no reason to refute it. The feelings which I venture to think have prompted the note under reply must have been that the measures which we have been obliged to take will be expanded to an extent which will result in their interference with genuine neutral commerce; perhaps, also, that they are not exclusively designed for belligerent purposes, but are rather an attempt to forward our own trade interests at the expense of neutral commerce under the cloak of belligerency; and, lastly, that they are, from a military point of view, unnecessary.

Upon these points I am able to give to the Government and people of the United States the fullest assurances. Upon the first point, it is true, as your note says, that the name of a firm may be added to the statutory list of persons with whom British persons may not trade whenever, on account of the enemy association of such firm, it seems expedient to do so. But the Government of the United States can feel confident that this system of prohibition will not be carried further than is absolutely necessary.

It has been forced upon us by the circumstances of the present war. To extend it beyond what is required in order to secure its immediate purpose—the weakening of the resources of our opponents—or to allow it to interfere with what is really the genuine neutral trade of a country with which we desire to have the closest commercial intercourse, would be contrary to British interests.

The advantage derived from a commercial transaction between a British subject and a foreigner is mutual, and for His Majesty's Government to forbid a British subject to trade with the citizen of any foreign country necessarily entails some diminution of commercial opportunity for that British subject, and therefore some loss to both him and his country.

Consequently the United States Government, even if they are willing to ignore the whole tradition and tendency of British policy towards the commerce of other nations, might be confident that self-interest alone would render His Majesty's Government anxious not to place upon the statutory list the name of any firm which carries on a genuine bona fide neutral trade. If they did so, Great Britain herself would be the loser.

As to the second point, there seem to be individuals in the United States and elsewhere whom it is almost impossible to convince that the measures we take are measures against our enemies, and not intended merely to foster our own trade at the expense of that of neutral countries. I can only reiterate, what has been

repeatedly explained before, that His Majesty's Government have no such unworthy object in view. We have, in fact, in all the steps we have taken to prevent British subjects from trading with these specified firms, been most careful to cause the least possible dislocation of neutral trade, as much in our interests as in those of the neutral.

I turn now to the question whether the circumstances of the present war are such as to justify resort on the part of His Majesty's Government to novel expedient.

As the United States Government are well aware, the Anglo-American practice has in times past been to treat domicile as the test of enemy character, in contradistinction to the continental practice which has always regarded nationality as the test. The Anglo-American rule, crystallized at the time when means of transport and communication were less developed than now, and when in consequence the actions of a person established in a distant country could have but little influence upon a struggle.

Today the position is very different. The activities of enemy subjects are ubiquitous, and under modern conditions it is easy for them wherever resident to remit money to any place where it may be required for the use of their own government or to act in other ways calculated to assist its purposes and to damage the interests of the powers with whom it is at war. No elaborate exposition of the situation is required to show that full use has been and is being made of these opportunities.

The experience of the war has proved abundantly, as the United States Government will readily admit, that many Germans in neutral countries have done all in their power to help the cause of their own country and to injure that of the allies; in fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that German houses abroad have in a large number of cases, been used as an integral part of an organization deliberately conceived and planned as an engine for the furtherance of German politics and military ambitions.

It is common knowledge that German business establishments in foreign countries have been not merely centers of German trade, but active agents for dissemination of German political and social influence and for the purpose of espionage.

In some cases they have even been used as bases of supply for German cruisers, and in other cases as organizers and paymasters of miscreants employed to destroy by foul means factories engaged in making or ships in carrying supplies required by the allies.

Such operations have been carried out in the territory even of the United States itself, and I am bound to observe what I do not think will be denied, that no adequate action has yet been taken by the Government of the United States to suppress breaches of neutrality of this particularly criminal kind, which I know they are the first to discountenance and deplore.

In the face of enemy activities of this nature it was essential for His Majesty's Government to take steps that should at least deprive interests so strongly hostile to the facilities and advantages of unrestricted trading with British subjects.

The public opinion of this country would not have tolerated the prolonging of the war by the continued liberty of British subjects to trade with and so to enrich the firms in foreign countries whose wealth and influence were alike at the service of the enemy.

Let me repeat that His Majesty's Government make no such claim to dictate to citizens of the United States, nor to those of any other neutral country as to the persons with whom they are or are not to trade. They do, however, maintain the right, which in the present crisis is also their duty toward the people of this country and to their allies, to withhold British facilities from those who conduct their trade for the benefit of our enemies.

If the value to these firms of British facilities is such as to lead them to prefer to give up their trade with our enemies rather than to run the risk of being deprived of such facilities, His Majesty's Government cannot admit that their acceptance of guarantees to that effect is either arbitrary or incompatible with international law or comity.

There is another matter with which I should like to deal.

The idea would seem to be prevalent in some quarters that the military position is now such that it is unnecessary for His Majesty's Government to take any steps which might prejudice, even to a slight extent, the commerce of neutral countries, that the end of the war is in sight, and that nothing which happens in distant neutral countries can effect the ultimate result.

If that were really the position, it is possible that the measures taken by His Majesty's Government might be described as uncalled for, but it is not. We may well wish that it were so. Even though the military situation of the allies has greatly improved, there is still a long and bitter struggle in front of them, and one which in justice to the principles for which they are fighting imposes upon them the duty of employing every opportunity and every measure which they can legitimately use to overcome their opponents.

One observation which is very commonly heard is that certain belligerent acts, even though lawful, are too petty to have any influence upon a struggle of such magnitude. It is, I know, difficult for those who have no immediate contact with war to realize with what painful anxiety men and women in this country must regard even the smallest acts which tend to increase, if only by a hair's breadth, the danger in which their relatives and friends daily stand, or to prolong, if only by a minute, the period during which they are to be exposed to such perils.

Whatever inconvenience may be caused to neutral nations by the exercise of belligerent rights, it is not to be compared for an instant to the suffering and loss occasioned to mankind by the prolongation of the war, even for a week.

One other matter should be mentioned, namely, the exclusion from ships using British coal of goods belonging to firms on the statutory list. This is enforced by rendering it a condition of the supply of bunker coal.

What legal objection can be taken to this course? It is British coal; why should it be used to transport the goods of those who are actively assisting our enemies?

Nor is this the only point. It must be remembered that the German Government by their submarine warfare have sought to diminish the world's tonnage; that they have sunk illegally and without warning hundreds of peaceful merchant ships belonging not only to allied countries, but to neutrals as well. Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, Spanish, Greek ships have all been sunk.

Between the first of June and the thirtieth of September, 1916, 262 vessels have been sunk by enemy's submarines; 73 of these were British, 123 allies and 66 neutrals.

These totals include ten British vessels which were sunk without warning and involved the loss of eighty-one lives; two allied, one of which involves the loss of two lives, no information being available as to the other, and three neutral, involving the loss of one life. Even so, the list is incomplete. Probably other vessels were sunk without warning and more lives than those enumerated were lost. It may be added that where those on board did escape it was, as a rule, only by taking to open boats.

One of the first enterprises to feel the loss of tonnage has been the commission for relief in Belgium. Relief ships have themselves been repeatedly sunk, and in spite of all the efforts of His Majesty's Government, in spite of the special facilities given for the supply of coal to ships engaged in the commission's service, that body is constantly unable to import into Belgium the foodstuffs absolutely necessary to preserve the life of the population. Can it, then, be wondered that the British Government are anxious to limit the supply of British coal in such a way as to reserve it as far as possible to ships genuinely employed in allied or neutral trade?

There is, indeed, one preoccupation in regard to this use of coaling advantages by His Majesty's Government which is, no doubt, present in the minds of neutrals, and which I recognize. I refer to the apprehension that the potential control over means of transportation thus possessed by one nation might be used for the disruption of the trade of the world in the selfish interest of that nation.

His Majesty's Government, therefore, take this opportunity to declare that they are not unmindful of the obligations of those who possess sea power, nor of that traditional policy pursued by the British Empire by which such power has been regarded as a trust and has been exercised in the interest of freedom. They require no representations to recall such considerations to mind, but they cannot admit that, in the circumstances of the times, their present use of their coal resources, a use which only differs in extent from that exercised by the United States in the Civil War in the case of vessels proceeding to such ports as Nassau, is obnoxious to their duties or their voluntary professions.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from calling to mind the instructions issued by Lord Russell on the 5th of July, 1862, to the merchants of Liverpool in regard to trade with the Bahamas. His Lordship there advised British subjects that their "true remedy" would be to "refrain from this species of trade" on the ground that "it exposes innocent commerce to vexatious detention and search by American cruisers."

His Majesty's Government does not ask the Government of the United States to take any such action as this, but they cannot believe that the United States Government will question their right to lay upon British merchants, in the interests of the safety of the British Empire, for which they are responsible, the same prohibition as Lord Russell issued fifty years ago out of consideration for the interests and feelings of a foreign nation.

Suspicious and insinuations which would construe so simple an action as an opening for secret and unavowed design on neutral rights should have no place in the relations between two friendly countries.

I trust that the explanations contained in this note will destroy such suspicions and correct the erroneous views which prevail in the United States on the subject.

I have, etc.,

GREY OF FALLODEN.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Thanksgiving—1916.]

It has long been the custom of our people to turn in the fruitful autumn of the year in praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for His many blessings and mercies to us as a nation. The year that has elapsed since we last observed our day of thanksgiving has been rich in blessings to us as a people, but the whole face of the world has been darkened by war. In the midst of our peace and happiness, our thoughts dwell with painful disquiet upon the struggles and sufferings of the nations at war and of the peoples upon whom war has brought disaster without choice or possibility of escape on their part. We cannot think of our own happiness without thinking also of their pitiful distress.

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do appoint Thursday, the thirtieth of November, as a day of National Thanksgiving and Prayer, and urge and advise the people to resort to their several places of worship on that day to render thanks to Almighty God for the blessings of peace and unbroken prosperity which He has bestowed upon our beloved country in such unstinted measure. And I also urge and suggest our duty in this our day of peace and abundance to think in deep sympathy of the stricken peoples of the world upon whom the curse and terror of war has so pitilessly fallen, and to contribute out of our abundant means to the relief of their suffering. Our people could in no better way show their real attitude towards the present struggle of the nations than by contributing out of their abundance to the relief of the suffering which war has brought in its train.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this seventeenth day of November,
in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and

[SEAL.] sixteen and of the independence of the United States the
one hundred and forty-first. WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

FOURTH ANNUAL ADDRESS

[Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, December 5, 1916.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS—In fulfilling at this time the duty laid upon me by the Constitution of communicating to you from time to time information of the state of the Union and recommending to your consideration such legislative measures as may be judged necessary and expedient, I shall continue the practice, which I hope has been acceptable to you, of leaving to the reports of the several heads of the executive departments the elaboration of the detailed needs of the public service and confine myself to those matters of more general public policy with which it seems necessary and feasible to deal at the present session of the Congress.

I realize the limitations of time under which you will necessarily act at this session and shall make my suggestions as few as possible; but there were some things left undone at the last session which there will now be time to complete and which it seems necessary in the interest of the public to do at once.

In the first place, it seems to me imperatively necessary that the earliest possible consideration and action should be accorded the remaining measures of the program of settlement and regulation which I had occasion to recommend to you at the close of your last session in view of the public dangers disclosed by the unaccommodated difficulties which then existed, and which still unhappily continue to exist, between the railroads of the country and their locomotive engineers, conductors and trainmen.

I then recommended:

First, immediate provision for the enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission along the lines embodied in the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives and now awaiting action by the Senate; in order that the Commission may be enabled to deal with the many great and various duties now devolving upon it with a promptness and thoroughness which are, with its present constitution and means of action, practically impossible.

Second, the establishment of an eight-hour day as the legal basis alike of work and wages in the employment of all railway employes who are actually engaged in the work of operating trains in interstate transportation.

Third, the authorization of the appointment by the President of a small body of men to observe actual results in experience of the adoption of the eight-hour day in railway transportation alike for the men and for the railroads.

Fourth, explicit approval by the Congress of the consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase of freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have

been rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day and which have not been offset by administrative readjustments and economies, should the facts disclosed justify the increase.

Fifth, an amendment of the existing Federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that, in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted.

And, sixth, the lodgment in the hands of the Executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways of the country as may be required for military use and to operate them for military purposes, with authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials as the circumstances require for their safe and efficient use.

The second and third of these recommendations the Congress immediately acted on: it established the eight-hour day as the legal basis of work and wages in train service and it authorized the appointment of a commission to observe and report upon the practical results, deeming these the measures most immediately needed; but it postponed action upon the other suggestions until an opportunity should be offered for a more deliberate consideration of them.

The fourth recommendation I do not deem it necessary to renew. The power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant an increase of rates on the ground referred to is indisputably clear and a recommendation by the Congress with regard to such a matter might seem to draw in question the scope of the commission's authority or its inclination to do justice when there is no reason to doubt either.

The other suggestions—the increase in the Interstate Commerce Commission's membership and in its facilities for performing its manifold duties; the provision for full public investigation and assessment of industrial disputes, and the grant to the Executive of the power to control and operate the railways when necessary in time of war or other like public necessity—I now very earnestly renew.

The necessity for such legislation is manifest and pressing. Those who have entrusted us with the responsibility and duty of serving and safeguarding them in such matters would find it hard, I believe, to excuse a failure to act upon these grave matters or any unnecessary postponement of action upon them.

Not only does the Interstate Commerce Commission now find it practically impossible, with its present membership and organization, to perform its great functions promptly and thoroughly, but it is not unlikely that it may presently be found advisable to add to its duties

still others equally heavy and exacting. It must first be perfected as an administrative instrument.

The country cannot and should not consent to remain any longer exposed to profound industrial disturbances for lack of additional means of arbitration and conciliation which the Congress can easily and promptly supply.

And all will agree that there must be no doubt as to the power of the Executive to make immediate and uninterrupted use of the railroads for the concentration of the military forces of the nation wherever they are needed and whenever they are needed.

This is a program of regulation, prevention and administrative efficiency which argues its own case in the mere statement of it. With regard to one of its items, the increase in the efficiency of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the House of Representatives has already acted; its action needs only the concurrence of the Senate.

I would hesitate to recommend, and I dare say the Congress would hesitate to act upon the suggestion should I make it, that any man in any occupation should be obliged by law to continue in an employment which he desired to leave.

To pass a law which forbade or prevented the individual workman to leave his work before receiving the approval of society in doing so would be to adopt a new principle into our jurisprudence, which I take it for granted we are not prepared to introduce.

But the proposal that the operation of the railways of the country shall not be stopped or interrupted by the concerted action of organized bodies of men until a public investigation shall have been instituted, which shall make the whole question at issue plain for the judgment of the opinion of the nation, is not to propose any such principle.

It is based upon the very different principle that the concerted action of powerful bodies of men shall not be permitted to stop the industrial processes of the nation, at any rate before the nation shall have had an opportunity to acquaint itself with the merits of the case as between employe and employer, time to form its opinion upon an impartial statement of the merits, and opportunity to consider all practicable means of conciliation or arbitration.

I can see nothing in that proposition but the justifiable safeguarding by society of the necessary processes of its very life. There is nothing arbitrary or unjust in it unless it be arbitrarily and unjustly done. It can and should be done with a full and scrupulous regard for the interests and liberties of all concerned as well as for the permanent interests of society itself.

Three matters of capital importance await the action of the Senate which have already been acted upon by the House of Representatives; the bill which seeks to extend greater freedom of combination to those engaged in promoting the foreign commerce of the country than is

now thought by some to be legal under the terms of the laws against monopoly; the bill amending the present organic law of Porto Rico; and the bill proposing a more thorough and systematic regulation of the expenditure of money in elections, commonly called the Corrupt Practices Act.

I need not labor my advice that these measures be enacted into law. Their urgency lies in the manifest circumstances which render their adoption at this time not only opportune but necessary. Even delay would seriously jeopard the interests of the country and of the Government.

Immediate passage of the bill to regulate the expenditure of money in elections may seem to be less necessary than the immediate enactment of the other measures to which I refer, because at least two years will elapse before another election in which Federal offices are to be filled; but it would greatly relieve the public mind if this important matter were dealt with while the circumstances and the dangers to the public morals of the present method of obtaining and spending campaign funds stand clear under recent observation, and the methods of expenditure can be frankly studied in the light of present experience; and a delay would have the further very serious disadvantage of postponing action until another election was at hand and some special object connected with it might be thought to be in the mind of those who urged it. Action can be taken now with facts for guidance and without suspicion of partisan purpose.

I shall not argue at length the desirability of giving a freer hand in the matter of combined and concerted effort to those who shall undertake the essential enterprise of building up our export trade. That enterprise will presently, will immediately assume, has indeed already assumed a magnitude unprecedented in our experience. We have not the necessary instrumentalities for its prosecution; it is deemed to be doubtful whether they could be created upon an adequate scale under our present laws.

We should clear away all legal obstacles and create a basis of undoubted law for it which will give freedom without permitting unregulated license. The thing must be done now, because the opportunity is here and may escape us if we hesitate or delay.

The argument for the proposed amendments of the organic law of Porto Rico is brief and conclusive. The present laws governing the island and regulating the rights and privileges of its people are not just. We have created expectations of extended privilege which we have not satisfied. There is uneasiness among the people of the island and even a suspicious doubt with regard to our intentions concerning them which the adoption of the pending measure would happily remove. We do not doubt what we wish to do in any essential particular. We ought to do it at once.

At the last session of the Congress a bill was passed by the Senate which provides for the promotion of vocational and industrial education, which is of vital importance to the whole country because it concerns a matter, too long neglected, upon which the thorough industrial preparation of the country for the critical years of economic development immediately ahead of us in very large measure depends.

May I not urge its early and favorable consideration by the House of Representatives and its early enactment into law? It contains plans which affect all interests and all parts of the country, and I am sure that there is no legislation now pending before the Congress whose passage the country awaits with more thoughtful approval or greater impatience to see a great and admirable thing set in the way of being done.

There are other matters already advanced to the stage of conference between the two houses of which it is not necessary that I should speak. Some practicable basis of agreement concerning them will no doubt be found and action taken upon them.

Inasmuch as this is, gentlemen, probably the last occasion I shall have to address the Sixty-fourth Congress, I hope that you will permit me to say with what genuine pleasure and satisfaction I have co-operated with you in the many measures of constructive policy with which you have enriched the legislative annals of the country. It has been a privilege to labor in such company. I take the liberty of congratulating you upon the completion of a record of rare serviceableness and distinction.

OFFICIAL NOTES LOOKING TOWARD A TERMINATION OF THE EUROPEAN WAR, FROM THE TEUTONIC ALLIES TO THE NEUTRAL POWERS, THE REPLIES OF THE ENTENTE ALLIES, AND PRESIDENT WILSON'S EFFORTS AT MEDIATION.

Following is the text of the note addressed by Germany and her allies to the neutral powers for transmission to the Entente Allies:

BERLIN, December 12, 1916.

The most terrific war experienced in history has been raging for the last two years and a half over a large part of the world—a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity.

Our aims are not to shatter nor annihilate our adversaries. In spite of our consciousness of our military and economic strength and our readiness to continue the war (which has been forced upon us) to the bitter end, if necessary; at the same time, prompted by the desire to avoid further bloodshed and make an end to the atrocities of war, the four allied powers propose to enter forthwith into peace negotiations.

The propositions which they bring forward for such negotiations, and which have for their object a guarantee of the existence, of the honor and liberty of evolution for their nations, are, according to their firm belief, an appropriate basis for the establishment of a lasting peace.

The four allied powers have been obliged to take up arms to defend justice and the liberty of national evolution. The glorious deeds of our armies have in no way altered their purpose. We always maintained the firm belief that our own rights and justified claims in no way control the rights of these nations.

The spiritual and material progress which were the pride of Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century are threatened with ruin. Germany and her allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, gave proof of their unconquerable strength in this struggle. They gained gigantic advantages over adversaries superior in number and war material. Our lines stand unshaken against ever-repeated attempts made by armies.

The last attack in the Balkans has been rapidly and victoriously overcome. The most recent events have demonstrated that further continuance of the war will not result in breaking the resistance of our forces, and the whole situation with regard to our troops justifies our expectation of further successes.

If, in spite of this offer of peace and reconciliation, the struggle should go on, the four allied powers are resolved to continue to a victorious end, but they disclaim responsibility for this before humanity and history. The Imperial Government, through the good offices of your Excellency, asks the Government of [here is inserted the name of the neutral power addressed in each instance] to bring this communication to the knowledge of the Government of [here are inserted the names of the belligerents].

TO THE VATICAN.

The note of the German Government, as presented by Dr. von Muhlberg, German Minister to the Vatican, to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, reads as follows:

BERLIN, December 12, 1916.

According to instructions received, I have the honor to send to your Eminence a copy of the declaration of the Imperial Government today, which by the good offices of the powers intrusted with the protection of German interests in the countries with which the German Empire is in a state of war, transmits to these States, and in which the Imperial Government declares itself ready to enter into peace negotiations. The Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian Governments also have sent similar notes.

The reasons which prompted Germany and her allies to take this step are manifest. For two years and a half a terrible war has been devastating the European Continent. Unlimited treasures of civilization have been destroyed. Extensive areas have been soaked with blood. Millions of brave soldiers have fallen in battle and millions have returned home as invalids. Grief and sorrow fill almost every house.

Not only upon the belligerent nations, but also upon neutrals, the destructive consequences of the gigantic struggle weigh heavily. Trade and commerce, carefully built up in years of peace, have been depressed. The best forces of the nation have been withdrawn from the production of useful objects. Europe, which formerly was devoted to the propagation of religion and civilization, which was trying to find solutions for social problems, and was the home of science and art and all peaceful labor, now resembles an immense war camp, in which the achievements and works of many decades are doomed to annihilation.

Germany is carrying on a war of defense against her enemies, which aim at her destruction. She fights to assure the integrity of her frontiers and the liberty of the German nation, for the right which she claims to develop freely her intellectual and economic energies in peaceful competition and on an equal footing with other nations. All the efforts of their enemies are unable to shatter the heroic armies of the (Teutonic) allies, which protect the frontiers of their countries, strengthened by the certainty that the enemy shall never pierce the iron wall.

Those fighting on the front know that they are supported by the whole nation, which is inspired by love for its country and is ready for the greatest sacrifices and determined to defend to the last extremity the inherited treasure of intellectual and economic work and the social organization and sacred soil of the country.

Certain of our own strength, but realizing Europe's sad future if the war continues; seized with pity in the face of the unspeakable misery of humanity, the German Empire, in accord with her allies, solemnly repeats what the Chancellor already has declared, a year ago, that Germany is ready to give peace to the world by setting before the whole world the question whether or not it is possible to find a basis for an understanding.

Since the first day of the Pontifical reign his Holiness the Pope has unswervingly demonstrated, in the most generous fashion, his solicitude for the innumer-

able victims of this war. He has alleviated the sufferings and ameliorated the fate of thousands of men injured by this catastrophe. Inspired by the exalted ideas of his ministry, his Holiness has seized every opportunity in the interests of humanity to end so sanguinary a war.

The Imperial Government is firmly confident that the initiative of the four powers will find friendly welcome on the part of his Holiness, and that the work of peace can count upon the precious support of the Holy See.

AUSTRIA'S SEPARATE STATEMENT.

An official Austrian statement, referring to the peace offer, says:

When in the summer of 1914 the patience of Austria-Hungary was exhausted by a series of systematically continued and ever increasing provocations and menaces, and the monarchy, after almost fifty years of unbroken peace, found itself compelled to draw the sword, this weighty decision was animated neither by aggressive purposes nor by designs of conquest, but solely by the bitter necessity of self-defense, to defend its existence and safeguard itself for the future against similar treacherous plots of hostile neighbors.

That was the task and aim of the monarchy in the present war. In combination with its allies, well tried in loyal comradeship in arms, the Austro-Hungarian Army and Fleet, fighting, bleeding, but also assailing and conquering, gained such successes that they frustrated the intentions of the enemy. The quadruple alliance not only has won an immense series of victories, but also holds in its power extensive hostile territories. Unbroken is its strength, as our latest treacherous enemy has just experienced.

Can our enemies hope to conquer or shatter this alliance of powers? They will never succeed in breaking it by blockade and starvation measures. Their war aims, to the attainment of which they have come no nearer in the third year of the war, will in the future be proved to have been completely unattainable. Useless and unavailing, therefore, is the prosecution of the fighting on the part of the enemy.

The powers of the Quadruple Alliance, on the other hand, have effectively pursued their aims, namely, defense against attacks on their existence and integrity, which were planned in concert long since, and the achievement of real guarantees, and they will never allow themselves to be deprived of the basis of their existence, which they have secured by advantages won.

The continuation of the murderous war, in which the enemy can destroy much, but cannot—as the Quadruple Alliance is firmly confident—alter fate, is ever more seen to be an aimless destruction of human lives and property, an act of inhumanity justified by no necessity and a crime against civilization.

This conviction, and the hope that similar views may also be begun to be entertained in the enemy camp, has caused the idea to ripen in the Vienna Cabinet—in full agreement with the Governments of the allied [Teutonic] powers—of making a candid and loyal endeavor to come to a discussion with their enemies for the purpose of paving a way for peace.

The Governments of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria have addressed today identical notes to the diplomatic representatives in the capitals concerned who are intrusted with the promotion of enemy nationals, expressing an inclination to enter into peace negotiations and requesting them to transmit this overture to enemy States. This step was simultaneously brought to the knowledge of the representatives of the Holy See in a special note, and the active interest of the Pope for this offer of peace was solicited. Likewise the accredited representatives of the remaining neutral States in the four capitals were acquainted with this proceeding for the purpose of informing their Governments.

Austria and her allies by this step have given new and decisive proof of their love of peace. It is now for their enemies to make known their views before the world.

Whatever the result of its proposal may be, no responsibility can fall on the Quadruple Alliance, even before the judgment seat of its own peoples, if it is eventually obliged to continue the war.

PEACE NOTE TO THE BELLIGERENT NATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 18, 1916.

The Secretary of State to the American Ambassadors at the Capitals of the Belligerent Powers:

The President directs me to send you the following communication to be presented immediately to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government to which you are accredited:

The President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the [here is inserted a designation of the Government addressed] a course of action with regard to the present war, which he hopes that the Government will take under consideration as suggested in the most friendly spirit, and as coming not only from a friend but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.

[The third paragraph of the note as sent to the four Central Powers—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria—is as follows:]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It has, in fact, been in no way suggested by them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been independently answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[The third paragraph of the note as sent to the ten Entente Allies—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia—is as follows:]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It is, in fact, in no way associated with them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[*Thenceforward the note proceeds identically to all the powers, as follows:*]

The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another, if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects, which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amid multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.

In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to co-operate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether

intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. If the contest must continue to proceed toward undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted; if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer; if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitively stated.

The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end.

It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world.

LANSING.

[Copies of the above will be delivered to all neutral Governments for their information.]

TEXT OF GERMANY'S NOTE TO PRESIDENT WILSON, PROPOSING
PEACE CONFERENCE OF BELLIGERENTS.

BERLIN, December 26, 1916.

Germany and her allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, replied today to the note of President Wilson in which he asked that the belligerent nations state the aims for which they were fighting. The text of the reply, which was handed to James W. Gerard, the American Ambassador, says:

The high-minded suggestion made by the President of the United States of America in order to create a basis for the establishment of a lasting peace has been received and considered by the Imperial Government in the friendly spirit which was expressed in the President's communication.

The President points out that which he has at heart and leaves open the choice of road. To the Imperial Government an immediate exchange of views seems to be the most appropriate road in order to reach the desired result. It begs, therefore, in the sense of the declaration made on Dec. 12, which offered a hand for peace negotiations, to propose an immediate meeting of delegates of the belligerent States at a neutral place.

The Imperial Government is also of the opinion that the great work of preventing future wars can be begun only after the end of the present struggle of the nations. It will, when this moment shall have come, be ready with pleasure to collaborate entirely with the United States in this exalted task.

The answer of the Central Powers concludes with the usual diplomatic terms of politeness.

REPLY OF THE ENTENTE ALLIES TO THE CENTRAL POWERS'
OFFER TO OPEN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

PARIS, December 30, 1916.

The allied Governments of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, and Serbia, united for the defense of the liberty of their peoples and faithful to engagements taken not to lay down their arms separately, have resolved to reply collectively to the pretended propositions of peace which were addressed to them on behalf of the enemy Governments through the intermediary of the United States, Spain, Switzerland, and Holland.

Before making any reply, the allied powers desire particularly to protest against the two essential assertions of the notes of the enemy powers that pretend to throw upon the Allies responsibility for the war and proclaim the victory of the Central Powers. The allied Governments cannot admit an affirmation doubly inexact and which suffices to render sterile all tentative negotiations. The allied nations have sustained for thirty months a war they did everything to avoid. They have shown by their acts their attachment to peace. That attachment is as strong today as it was in 1914. But it is not upon the word of Germany, after the violation of its engagements, that the peace broken by her may be based.

A mere suggestion without a statement of terms, that negotiations should be opened, is not an offer of peace. The putting forward by the Imperial Government of a sham proposal lacking all substance and precision would appear to be less an offer of peace than a war manoeuvre. It is founded on calculated misinterpretation of the character of the struggle in the past, the present, and the future.

As for the past, the German note takes no account of the facts, dates, and figures, which establish that the war was desired, provoked, and declared by Germany and Austria-Hungary.

At The Hague Conference it was a German delegate who refused all proposals for disarmament. In July, 1914, it was Austria-Hungary, who, after having addressed to Serbia an unprecedented ultimatum, declared war upon her in spite of the satisfaction which had at once been accorded.

The Central Empires then rejected all attempts made by the Entente to bring about a pacific solution of a purely local conflict. Great Britain suggested a conference; France proposed an international commission; the Emperor of Russia asked the German Emperor to go to arbitration, and Russia and Austria-Hungary came to an understanding on the eve of the conflict. But to all these efforts Germany gave neither answer nor effect.

Belgium was invaded by an empire which had guaranteed her neutrality and which had the assurance to proclaim that treaties were "scraps of paper," and that "necessity knows no law."

At the present moment these sham offers on the part of Germany rest on the war map of Europe alone, which represents nothing more than a superficial and passing phase of the situation and not the real strength of the belligerents. A peace concluded upon these terms would be only to the advantage of the aggressors, who, after imagining that they would reach their goal in two months, discovered after two years that they could never attain it.

As for the future, the disasters caused by the German declaration of war and the innumerable outrages committed by Germany and her allies against both belligerents and neutrals demand penalties, reparation and guarantees. Germany avoids mention of any of these.

In reality these overtures made by the Central Powers are nothing more than a calculated attempt to influence the future course of war and to end it by imposing a German peace. The object of these overtures is to create dissension in public opinion in the allied countries. But that public opinion has, in spite of all the sacrifices endured by the Allies, already given its answer with admirable firmness, and has denounced the empty pretense of the declaration of the enemy powers.

They (the peace overtures) have the further object of stiffening public opinion in Germany and in the countries allied to her—one and all severely tried by their losses, worn out by economic pressure and crushed by the supreme effort which has been imposed upon their inhabitants.

They endeavor to deceive and intimidate public opinion in neutral countries, whose inhabitants have long since made up their minds where the initial responsibilities lie and are far too enlightened to favor the designs of Germany by abandoning the defense of human freedom.

Finally, these overtures attempt to justify in advance in the eyes of the world a new series of crimes—submarine warfare, deportations, forced labor and forced enlistment of the inhabitants against their own countries, and violations of neutrality.

Fully conscious of the gravity of this moment, but equally conscious of its requirements, the allied Governments, closely united to one another and in perfect sympathy with their peoples, refuse to consider a proposal which is empty and insincere.

Once again the Allies declare that no peace is possible so long as they have not secured reparation for violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationality and of the free existence of small States, so long as they have not brought about a settlement calculated to end once and for all forces which have constituted a perpetual menace to the nations, and to afford the only effective guarantee for the future security of the world.

In conclusion, the Allied Powers think it necessary to put forward the following considerations, which show the special situation of Belgium after two and a half years of war. In virtue of the international treaties signed by five great European powers, of which Germany was one, Belgium enjoyed before the war a special status, rendering her territory inviolable and placing her, under the guarantee of the powers, outside all European conflicts. She was, however, in spite of these treaties, the first to suffer the aggression of Germany. For this reason the Belgian Government think it necessary to define the aims which Belgium has never ceased to pursue while fighting side by side with the Entente Powers for right and justice.

Belgium has always scrupulously fulfilled the duties which her neutrality imposed upon her. She has taken up arms to defend her independence and her neutrality violated by Germany and to show that she remains faithful to her international obligations.

On the 4th of August, 1914, in the Reichstag the German Chancellor admitted that this aggression constituted an injustice, contrary to the laws of nations, and pledged himself in the name of Germany to repair it. During two and a half years this injustice has been cruelly aggravated by the proceedings of the occupying forces, which have exhausted the resources of the country, ruined its industries, devastated its towns and villages and have been responsible for innumerable massacres, executions and imprisonments.

At this very moment, while Germany is proclaiming peace and humanity to the world, she is deporting Belgian citizens by thousands and reducing them to slavery.

Belgium before the war asked for nothing but to live in harmony with her neighbors. Her King and her Government have but one aim—the re-establishment of peace and justice. But they only desire peace which would assure to their country legitimate reparation, guarantees and safeguards for the future.

REPLY OF THE ENTENTE ALLIES TO PRESIDENT WILSON'S
DIPLOMATIC NOTE PROPOSING A PEACE CONFERENCE OF
BELLIGERENTS.

After the reply to the Central Powers printed in the preceding pages, Ambassador Sharp cabled from Paris the following answer of the Entente Allies to the peace proposals of President Wilson:

January 11, 1917.

The allied governments have received the note which was delivered to them in the name of the Government of the United States on the 19th of December, 1916. They have studied it with the care imposed upon them both by the exact realization which they have of the gravity of the hour and by the sincere friendship which attaches them to the American people.

In a general way they wish to declare that they pay tribute to the elevation of the sentiment with which the American note is inspired and that they associate themselves with all their hopes with the project for the creation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. They recognize all the advantages for the cause of humanity and civilization which the institution of international agreements, destined to avoid violent conflicts between nations would prevent; agreements which must imply the sanctions necessary to insure their execution and thus prevent an apparent security from only facilitating new aggressions. But a discussion of future arrangements destined to insure an enduring peace presupposes a satisfactory settlement of the actual conflict. The Allies have as profound a desire as the Government of the United States to terminate as soon as possible a war for which the Central Empires are responsible and which inflicts such cruel sufferings upon humanity.

But they believe that it is impossible at the present moment to attain a peace which will assure them reparation, restitution and such guarantees to which they are entitled by the aggression for which the responsibility rests with the Central Powers and of which the principle itself tended to ruin the security of Europe. A peace which would on the other hand permit the establishment of the future of European nations on a solid basis. The allied nations are conscious that they are not fighting for selfish interests, but above all to safeguard the independence of peoples, of right and of humanity.

The Allies are fully aware of the losses and suffering which the war causes to neutrals, as well as to belligerents, and they deplore them. But they do not hold themselves responsible for them, having in no way either willed or provoked this war, and they strive to reduce these damages in the measure compatible with the inexorable exigencies of their defense against the violence and the wiles of the enemy.

It is with satisfaction, therefore, that they take note of the declaration that the American communication is in nowise associated in its origin with that of the Central Powers, transmitted on the 18th of December by the Government of the United States. They did not doubt, moreover, the resolution of that Government to avoid even the appearance of a support, even moral, of the authors responsible for the war.

The allied governments believe that they must protest in the most friendly but in the most specific manner against the assimilation established in the American note between the two groups of belligerents. This assimilation, based upon public declarations by the Central Powers, is in direct opposition to the evidence, both as regards responsibility for the past and as concerns guarantees for the future. President Wilson in mentioning it certainly had no intention of associating himself with it.

If there is an historical fact established at the present date, it is the willful aggression of Germany and Austria-Hungary to insure their hegemony over Europe and their economic domination over the world. Germany proved by her declaration of war, by the immediate violation of Belgium and Luxemburg and by her manner of conducting the war her simulating contempt for all principles of humanity and all respect for small states; as the conflict developed the attitude of the Central Powers and their allies has been a continual defiance of humanity and civilization.

Is it necessary to recall the horrors which accompanied the invasion of Belgium and of Serbia, the atrocious régime imposed upon the invaded countries, the massacre of hundreds of thousands of inoffensive Armenians, the barbarities perpetrated against the populations of Syria, the raids of Zeppelins on open towns,

the destruction by submarines of passenger steamers and of merchantmen even under neutral flags, the cruel treatment inflicted upon prisoners of war, the juridical murder of Miss Cavell and of Captain Fryatt, the deportation and the reduction to slavery of civil populations, etc.? The execution of such a series of crimes perpetrated without any regard for universal reprobation fully explains to President Wilson the protest of the Allies.

They consider that the note which they sent to the United States in reply to the German note, will be a response to the questions put by the American government and, according to the exact words of the latter, constitute "a public declaration as to the conditions upon which the war could be terminated."

President Wilson desires more. He desires that the belligerent Powers openly affirm the objects which they seek by continuing the war. The Allies experience no difficulty in replying to this request. Their objects in the war are well known. They have been formulated on many occasions by the chiefs of their divers governments. Their objects in the war will not be made known in detail with all the equitable compensations and indemnities for damages suffered until the hour of negotiations.

But the civilized world knows that they imply in all necessity and in the first instance the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia and of Montenegro and the indemnities which are due them. The evacuation of the invaded territories of France, of Russia and of Rumania, with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe guaranteed by a stable régime and founded as much upon respect of nationalities and full security and liberty of economic development, which all nations, great or small, possess, as upon territorial conventions and international agreements suitable to guarantee territorial and maritime frontiers against unjustified attacks. The restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of their populations, the liberation of Italians, of Slavs, of Rumanians and of Tcheco Slovaques from foreign domination. The enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, which has proved itself so radically alien to western civilization.

The intentions of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia regarding Poland have been kindly indicated in the proclamation which he has just addressed to his armies.

It goes without saying that if the Allies wish to liberate Europe from the brutal covetousness of Prussian militarism, it never has been their design, as has been alleged, to encompass the extermination of the German peoples and their political disappearance. That which they desire above all is to insure a peace upon the principles of liberty and justice, upon the invincible fidelity to international obligation with which the government of the United States has never ceased to be inspired.

United in the pursuits of this supreme object the Allies are determined, individually and collectively, to act with all their power and to consent to all sacrifices to bring to a victorious close the conflict upon which they are convinced not only their own safety and prosperity depend, but also the future of civilization itself.

THE BELGIAN NOTE.

The translation of the Belgian note, which was handed to Mr. Sharp with the Entente reply, follows:

The Government of the King, which has associated itself with the answer handed by the President of the French Council to the American Ambassador on behalf of all, is particularly desirous of paying tribute to the sentiment of humanity which prompted the President of the United States to send his note to the belligerent powers, and it highly esteems the friendship expressed for Belgium through his kindly intermediation. It desires as much as Mr. Woodrow Wilson to see the present war ended as early as possible.

But the President seems to believe that the statesmen of the two opposing camps pursue the same objects of war. The example of Belgium unfortunately demonstrates that this is in no wise the fact. Belgium has never, like the Central Powers, aimed at conquests. The barbarous fashion in which the German government has treated, and is still treating, the Belgian nation, does not permit the supposition that Germany will preoccupy herself with guaranteeing in the future the rights of the weak nations which she has not ceased to trample under foot since the war, let loose by her, began to desolate Europe.

On the other hand, the Government of the King has noted with pleasure and with confidence the assurances that the United States is impatient to co-operate in

the measures which will be taken after the conclusion of peace to protect and guarantee the small nations against violence and oppression.

Previous to the German ultimatum Belgium only aspired to live upon good terms with all her neighbors. She practiced with scrupulous loyalty toward each one of them the duties imposed by her neutrality. In the same manner she has been rewarded by Germany for the confidence she placed in her, but from one day to the other, without any plausible reason, her neutrality was violated, and the Chancellor of the Empire when announcing to the Reichstag this violation of right and of treaties was obliged to recognize the iniquity of such an act and predetermine that it would be repaired.

But the Germans, after the occupation of Belgian territory, have displayed no better observance of the rules of international law or the stipulations of The Hague convention. They have, by taxation, as heavy as it is arbitrary, drained the resources of the country. They have intentionally ruined its industries, destroyed whole cities, put to death and imprisoned a considerable number of inhabitants. Even now, while they are loudly proclaiming their desire to put an end to the horrors of war, they increase the rigors of the occupation by deporting into servitude Belgian workers by the thousands.

If there is a country which has the right to say that it has taken up arms to defend its existence it is assuredly Belgium. Compelled to fight or to submit to shame, she passionately desires that an end be brought to the unprecedented sufferings of her population. But she could only accept a peace which would assure her, as well as equitable reparation, security and guarantees for the future.

These facts, entirely to the honor of the American nation, allow the Government of the King to entertain the legitimate hope that at the time of the definite settlement of this long war the voice of the Entente Powers will find in the United States a unanimous echo to claim in favor of the Belgian nation, innocent victim of German ambition and covetousness, the rank and the place which its irreproachable past, the valor of its soldiers, its fidelity to honor and its remarkable faculties for work assign to it among the civilized nations.

GERMANY'S REPLY TO THE CHARGES MADE BY THE ENTENTE ALLIES IN REFUSING TO CONSIDER OVERTURES FOR A CONFERENCE TO END THE WAR.

The same day (January 11, 1917) that the Entente Allies' reply to President Wilson was cabled from Paris Germany handed to neutral governments a note concerning the reply of the Entente to the German peace proposals.

It is first stated, that the German Government has received the reply of the Entente to the note of December 12, containing a proposal to enter at once upon peace negotiations. The note then continues:

Our adversaries declined this proposition, giving as the reason that it is a proposition without sincerity and without importance. The form in which they clothe their communication excludes an answer to them, but the Imperial Government considers it important to indicate to the governments of neutral powers its opinion regarding the situation.

The Central Powers have no reason to enter into any discussion regarding the origin of the world war. History will judge upon whom the immense guilt of the war shall fall. History's verdict will as little pass over the encircling policy of England, the revengeful policy of France and the endeavor of Russia to gain Constantinople as over the instigation of the Serbian assassination in Sarajevo and the complete mobilization of Russia, which meant war against Germany.

Germany and her allies, who had to take up arms for defense of their liberty and their existence, consider this, their aim of war, as obtained.

On the other hand, the hostile Powers always went further away from the realization of their plans, which, according to the declarations of their responsible statesman, were, among others, directed toward the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine and several Prussian provinces, the humiliation and diminution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the partition of Turkey and the mutilation of Bulgaria.

In the face of such war aims, the demand for restitution, reparation and guarantee in the mouth of our adversaries produces a surprising effect.

Our adversaries call the proposal of the four allied (Teutonic) Powers a war manoeuvre. Germany and her allies must protest in the most energetic fashion against such a characterization of their motives, which were frankly explained. They were persuaded that a peace which was just and acceptable to all the belliger-

ents was possible, that it could be brought about by an immediate, spoken exchange of views and that, therefore, the responsibility for further bloodshed could not be taken.

Their readiness was affirmed without reservation to make known their peace conditions when negotiations were entered into, which refutes every doubt as to their sincerity.

Our adversaries, who had it in their hands to examine the proposition as to its contents, neither attempted an examination nor made counter-proposals. Instead, they declared that peace was impossible so long as the re-establishment of violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationalities and the free existence of small states were not guaranteed.

The sincerity, which our adversary denies to the proposals of the four allied Powers, will not be conceded by the world to these demands, if the world holds before its eyes the fate of the Irish people, the destruction of the liberty and independence of the Boer Republic, the subjugation of Northern Africa by England, France and Italy, the suppression of Russian alien nations, and also the violation of Greece, which is without precedent in history.

Against the pretended violations of the laws of nations by the four allies (Teutonic), those Powers are not entitled to complain, which from the beginning of the war trampled on justice and tore to pieces the treaties upon which it is built. England already, during the first weeks of the war, repudiated the London Declaration, the contents of which had been recognized by its own delegates as a valid law of nations, and in the further course of the war violated in the most severe fashion, also the Paris Declaration; so that, by her arbitrary measures for warfare, a condition of lawlessness has been created.

The war of starvation against Germany and the pressure exercised in England's interest against neutrals are not less scandalously conflicting with the rules of the laws of nations as with the commands of humanity.

Likewise contrary to the laws of nations and incompatible with the usages of civilization are the use of colored troops in Europe and the extension of the war into Africa, which was done by a breach of existing treaties and which undermines the prestige of the white race on that continent. The barbarous treatment of prisoners, especially in Africa and Russia, and the deportation of the civilian population from Eastern Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine, Galicia and Bukowina are further proof of how our adversaries respect justice and civilization.

At the end of their note of December 30 our adversaries mention the special situation of Belgium. The Imperial Government is unable to acknowledge that the Belgian Government has always observed the duties which were enjoined upon her by her neutrality. Already before the war Belgium, under England's influence, sought support in military fashion from England and France, and thus herself violated the spirit (of the treaty) which she had to guarantee her independence and neutrality.

Twice the Imperial Government declared to the Belgian Government that it did not come as an enemy to Belgium and asked it to spare to the country the terrors of war. Germany offered to guarantee the integrity and independence of the kingdom to the full extent and compensate for all damages which might be caused by the passage of the German troops. It is known that the Royal British Government in 1887 was resolved not to oppose the use of the right of way through Belgium under those conditions.

The Belgian Government declined the repeated offer of the Imperial Government. Upon her and those Powers which instigated her to this attitude falls the responsibility for the fate which befell Belgium.

The accusations about the German warfare in Belgium and the measures taken there in the interest of military safety have been repeatedly refuted by the Imperial Government as untrue. Germany again offers energetic protest against these calumnies.

Germany and her allies have made an honest attempt to terminate the war and open the road for an understanding among the belligerents. The Imperial Government asserts the fact that it merely depended upon the decision of our adversaries whether the road toward peace should be entered upon or not. The hostile governments declined to accept this road. Upon them falls the full responsibility for the continuation of the bloodshed.

Our allied Powers, however, shall continue the struggle in quiet confidence and with firm trust in their right until peace is gained which guarantees to their nations honor, existence and liberty of development, and which to all the nations of the European Continent gives the blessing to co-operate in mutual respect and under equal rights together for the solution of the great problems of civilization.

PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY

[Address Before the Senate Proposing a Policy of International Alliance for the Preservation of Peace and the Racial Autonomy of Nations. Delivered January 22, 1917.]

To the Senate of the United States:

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE: On the eighteenth of December last I addressed an identic note to the governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy. The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace. The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement. We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in the days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honourable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot in honour withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this, to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a League for Peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candour and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant; and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards when it may be too late.

No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments, elements consistent with their political faith and with the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is

this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all,—may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think them to be.

They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. I take it for granted, for instance, if I may

venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable,—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquility of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling towards a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and co-operation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programmes of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost can-

dour and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing it its wings, and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every programme of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the

same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

NOTE HANDED TO SECRETARY OF STATE LANSING, FEBRUARY 1, 1917, BY THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR, COUNT VON BERNSTORFF, AFTER THE FAILURE OF PEACE PROPOSALS.

Mr. Secretary of State:

Your Excellency was good enough to transmit to the Imperial Government a copy of the message which the President of the United States of America addressed to the Senate on the 22d inst.

The Imperial Government has given it the earnest consideration which the President's statements deserve, inspired, as they are, by a deep sentiment of responsibility.

It is highly gratifying to the Imperial Government to ascertain that the main tendencies of this important statement correspond largely to the desires and principles professed by Germany. These principles especially include self-government and equality of rights for all nations.

Germany would be sincerely glad if in recognition of this principle countries like Ireland and India, which do not enjoy the benefits of political independence, should now obtain their freedom.

The German people also repudiate all alliances which serve to force the countries into a competition for might and to involve them in a net of selfish intrigues. On the other hand, Germany will gladly co-operate in all efforts to prevent future wars.

The freedom of the seas, being a preliminary condition of the free existence of nations and the peaceful intercourse between them, as well as the open door for the commerce of all nations, has always formed part of the leading principles of Germany's political programme.

All the more the Imperial Government regrets that the attitude of her enemies, who are so entirely opposed to peace, makes it impossible for the world at present to bring about the realization of these lofty ideals.

Germany and her allies were ready to enter now into a discussion of peace, and had set down as basis the guaranty of existence, honor and free development of their peoples. Their aims, as has been expressly stated in the note of December 12, 1916, were not directed toward the destruction or annihilation of their enemies, and were, according to their conviction, perfectly compatible with the rights of the other nations.

As to Belgium, for which such warm and cordial sympathy is felt in the United States, the Chancellor had declared only a few weeks previously that its annexation had never formed part of Germany's intentions. The peace to be signed with Belgium was to provide for such conditions in that country, with which Germany desires to maintain friendly neighborly relations, that Belgium should not be used again by Germany's enemies for the purpose of instigating continuous hostile intrigues.

Such precautionary measures are all the more necessary, as Germany's enemies have repeatedly stated not only in speeches delivered by their leading men, but also in the statutes of the economical conference in Paris, that it is their intention

not to treat Germany as an equal, even after peace has been restored, but to continue their hostile attitude and especially to wage a systematical economic war against her.

The attempt of the four allied powers to bring about peace has failed owing to the lust of conquest of their enemies, who desired to dictate the conditions of peace. Under the pretense of following the principle of nationality our enemies have disclosed their real aims in this way, viz.: To dismember and dishonor Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria. To the wish of reconciliation they oppose the will of destruction. They desire a fight to the bitter end.

A new situation has thus been created which forces Germany to new decisions. Since two years and a half England is using her naval power for a criminal attempt to force Germany into submission by starvation. In brutal contempt of international law the group of powers led by England does not only curtail the legitimate trade of their opponents, but they also, by ruthless pressure, compel neutral countries either to altogether forego every trade not agreeable to the Entente Powers or to limit it according to their arbitrary decrees. The American Government knows the steps which have been taken to cause England and her allies to return to the rules of international law and to respect the freedom of the seas.

The English Government, however, insists upon continuing its war of starvation, which does not at all affect the military power of its opponents, but compels women and children, the sick and the aged, to suffer for their country pains and privations which endanger the vitality of the nation. Thus British tyranny mercilessly increases the sufferings of the world, indifferent to the laws of humanity, indifferent to the protests of the neutrals whom they severely harm, indifferent even to the silent longing for peace among England's own allies. Each day of the terrible struggle causes new destruction, new sufferings. Each day shortening the war will, on both sides, preserve the life of thousands of brave soldiers and be a benefit to mankind.

The Imperial Government could not justify before its own conscience, before the German people and before history the neglect of any means destined to bring about the end of the war. Like the President of the United States, the Imperial Government had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. After the attempts to come to an understanding with the Entente Powers have been answered by the latter with the announcement of an intensified continuation of the war, the Imperial Government—in order to serve the welfare of mankind in a higher sense and not to wrong its own people—is now compelled to continue the fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal.

Sincerely trusting that the people and the Government of the United States will understand the motives for this decision and its necessity, the Imperial Government hopes that the United States may view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality and assist, on their part, to prevent further misery and unavoidable sacrifice of human life.

Enclosing two memoranda regarding the details of the contemplated military measures at sea, I remain, etc.,

[Signed] J. BERNSTORFF.

MEMORANDA ANNEXED.

From February 1, 1917, within barred zones around Great Britain, France, Italy and in the Eastern Mediterranean, as outlined in the following, all sea traffic forthwith will be opposed. Such barred zones are:

In the North Sea, the district around England and France which is limited by a line twenty nautical miles; the district along the Dutch coast as far as the Terschelling lightship, the degree of longitude of the Terschelling lightship to Udir; a line from there across the point 62 degrees north latitude, 5 longitude, westward along 62 degrees to a point three nautical miles south of the south point of Farover (Faroe Islands?), from there across the point 62 degrees north, — degrees west, to 61 degrees north, 15 degrees west; then 57 degrees north, 20 degrees west, to 47 degrees north, 20 degrees west; further, to 43 degrees north, 15 degrees west; then on degree latitude 43 degrees north to the point twenty nautical miles from Cape Finisterre and twenty nautical miles distance along the Spanish north coast as far as the French frontier.

Concerning the south, in the Mediterranean—For neutral shipping there remains open the sea district west of a line from Point de les Paquet to 38 degrees 20 minutes north and 6 degrees east, as well as north and west of a zone sixty sea

miles broad along the North African coast, beginning on (?) degrees west longitude.

In order to connect this sea district with Greece, the zone leads twenty sea miles in width north or east, following this line: 38 degrees north and 6 degrees east, 38 degrees north and 11 degrees 30 minutes east to 34 degrees north and 11 degrees 30 minutes east to 34 degrees north and 22 degrees 30 minutes east. From there it leads to a zone twenty sea miles broad west of 22 degrees 30 minutes east longitude into Greek territorial waters.

Neutral ships plying within the barred zones do so at their own risk. Although precautions are being taken to spare neutral ships which on February 1 are on the way to ports in the barred zone, during an appropriate delay, yet it is urgently to be advised that they should be warned and directed to other routes by all means available.

Neutral ships lying in ports of the barred zones can with the same safety abandon the barred zones if they sail before February 5 and take the shortest route into the open district.

Traffic of regular American passenger steamers can go on unmolested if:

A.—Falmouth is taken as the port of destination, and if

B.—On the going and return journey the Scilly Islands, as well as the point 50 degrees north, 20 degrees west, be steered on. Along this route no German mines will be laid.

C.—If steamers on this journey bear the following special signals, which only they will be permitted to display in American ports: A coating of paint on the ship's hull and the superstructure in vertical stripes three metres broad, alternating white and red; on every mast a large flag of checkered white and red, on the stern the American national flag; during darkness the national flag and the coat of paint to be as easily recognizable as possible from a distance, and the ships must be completely and brightly illuminated.

D.—If only one steamer runs each week in each direction, arriving at Falmouth on Sundays, leaving Falmouth on Wednesdays.

E.—If guarantees and assurances are given by the American Government that these steamers carry no contraband (according to the German list of contraband).

Two copies of maps on which the barred zones are outlined are added.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GERMANY SEVERED

[Address Delivered by President Wilson at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, February 3, 1917.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

The Imperial German Government on the thirty-first of January announced to this Government and to the governments of the other neutral nations that on and after the first day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas, to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

Let me remind the Congress that on the eighteenth of April last, in view of the sinking on the twenty-fourth of March the cross-Channel passenger steamer *Sussex* by a German submarine, without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government in which it made the following declaration:

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of inter-

national law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue.

"Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

"The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

"The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

"But," it added, "neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas from whatever quarter it has been violated."

To this the Government of the United States replied on the 8th of May, accepting, of course, the assurances given, but adding:

"The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and other belligerent governments, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the fourth instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction.

"In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it

cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and non-combatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative."

To this note of the eighth of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

On the thirty-first of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contains the following statement:

"The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intentions of the Entente allies give back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

"Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc., etc. All ships met within the zone will be sunk."

I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the fourth of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the eighteenth of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to His Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to His Excellency his passports.

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two Governments, I refuse to believe that it is the

intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do.

I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval programme they have announced their intention to adopt.

Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded; if American ships and American lives should, in fact, be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress, to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them.

We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people, which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our rights to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war.

God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany.

[Asking Congress for Authority to Supply Merchant Ships with Defensive Arms, February 26, 1917.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS:

I have again asked the privilege of addressing you because we are moving through critical times during which it seems to me to be my duty to keep in close touch with the Houses of Congress, so that neither counsel nor action shall run at cross purposes between us.

On the third of February I officially informed you of the sudden and unexpected action of the Imperial German Government in declaring its intention to disregard the promises it had made to this Govern-

ment in April last and undertake immediate submarine operations against all commerce, whether of belligerents or of neutrals, that should seek to approach Great Britain and Ireland, the Atlantic coasts of Europe, or the harbors of the eastern Mediterranean, and to conduct these operations without regard to the established restrictions of international practice, without regard to any considerations of humanity even which might interfere with their object. That policy was forthwith put in practice. It has now been in active execution for nearly four weeks.

Its practical results are not yet fully disclosed. The commerce of other neutral nations is suffering severely, but not, perhaps, very much more severely than it was already suffering before the first of February, when the new policy of the Imperial Government was put into operation. We have asked the cooperation of the other neutral governments to prevent these depredations, but so far none of them has thought it wise to join us in any common course of action. Our own commerce has suffered, is suffering, rather in apprehension than in fact, rather because so many of our ships are timidly keeping to their home ports than because American ships have been sunk.

Two American vessels have been sunk, the *Housatonic* and the *Lyman M. Law*. The case of the *Housatonic*, which was carrying foodstuffs consigned to a London firm, was essentially like the case of the *Fry*, in which, it will be recalled, the German Government admitted its liability for damages, and the lives of the crew, as in the case of the *Fry*, were safeguarded with reasonable care. The case of the *Law*, which was carrying lemon-box staves to Palermo, disclosed a ruthlessness of method which deserves grave condemnation, but was accompanied by no circumstances which might not have been expected at any time in connection with the use of the submarine against merchantmen as the German Government has used it.

In sum, therefore, the situation we find ourselves in with regard to the actual conduct of the German submarine warfare against commerce and its effects upon our own ships and people is substantially the same that it was when I addressed you on the third of February, except for the tying up of our shipping in our own ports because of the unwillingness of our shipowners to risk their vessels at sea without insurance or adequate protection, and the very serious congestion of our commerce which has resulted, a congestion which is growing rapidly more and more serious every day. This in itself might presently accomplish, in effect, what the new German submarine orders were meant to accomplish, so far as we are concerned. We can only say, therefore, that the overt act which I have ventured to hope the German commanders would in fact avoid has not occurred.

But, while this is happily true, it must be admitted that there have been certain additional indications and expressions of purpose on the

part of the German press and the German authorities which have increased rather than lessened the impression that, if our ships and our people are spared, it will be because of fortunate circumstances or because the commanders of the German submarines which they may happen to encounter exercise an unexpected discretion and restraint rather than because of the instructions under which those commanders are acting. It would be foolish to deny that the situation is fraught with the gravest possibilities and dangers. No thoughtful man can fail to see that the necessity for definite action may come at any time, if we are in fact, and not in word merely, to defend our elementary rights as a neutral nation. It would be most imprudent to be unprepared.

I cannot in such circumstances be unmindful of the fact that the expiration of the term of the present Congress is immediately at hand, by constitutional limitation; and that it would in all likelihood require an unusual length of time to assemble and organize the Congress which is to succeed it. I feel that I ought, in view of that fact, to obtain from you full and immediate assurance of the authority which I may need at any moment to exercise. No doubt I already possess that authority without special warrant of law, by the plain implication of my constitutional duties and powers; but I prefer, in the present circumstances, not to act upon general implication. I wish to feel that the authority and the power of the Congress are behind me in whatever it may become necessary for me to do. We are jointly the servants of the people and must act together and in their spirit, so far as we can divine and interpret it.

No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances, with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen, upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise. Since it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to *armed* neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed force anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart and would wish to exhibit in everything I do. I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplat-

ing war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will,—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the wilful acts and aggressions of others.

You will understand why I make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. The form in which action may become necessary cannot yet be foreseen. I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months; and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks.

I have spoken of our commerce and of the legitimate errands of our people on the seas, but you will not be misled as to my main thought, the thought that lies beneath these phrases and gives them dignity and weight. It is not of material interests merely that we are thinking. It is, rather, of fundamental human rights, chief of all the right of life itself. I am thinking, not only of the rights of Americans to go and come about their proper business by way of the sea, but also of something much deeper, much more fundamental than that. I am thinking of those rights of humanity without which there is no civilization. My theme is of those great principles of compassion and of protection which mankind has sought to throw about human lives, the lives of non-combatants, the lives of men who are peacefully at work keeping the industrial processes of the world quick and vital, the lives of women and children and of those who supply the labor which ministers to their sustenance. We are speaking of no selfish material rights but of rights which our hearts support and whose foundation is that righteous passion for justice upon which all law, all structures alike of family, of state, and of mankind must rest, as upon the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty. I cannot imagine any man with American principles at his heart hesitating to defend these things.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

[Relating to the Exclusion of Chinese from the Panama Canal Zone.]

The White House, February 6, 1917.

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the provisions of the Act of Congress approved August 21, 1916, entitled "An Act extending certain privileges of Canal employees to other officials on the Canal Zone, and authorizing the President to make rules and regulations affecting the health, sanitation, quarantine, taxation, public roads, self-propelled vehicles and police powers on the Canal Zone, and for other purposes, including provision as to certain fees, money orders and interest deposits", I do hereby establish the following Executive Order for the Canal Zone:

Sec. 1. The Executive Order of January 9, 1908, extending to the Canal Zone Law No. 6 of 1904, of the Republic of Panama, is hereby repealed.

Sec. 2. No Chinese person shall be allowed to enter into or remain in the Canal Zone, except as provided in this order; and any Chinese person found in the Canal Zone in contravention of the provisions of this order, shall be punished as hereinafter prescribed.

Any Chinese person who shall come into the Canal Zone, with the intention of passing into the Republic of Panama, in contravention of the laws of the Republic of Panama, shall be deemed guilty of a violation of this section.

Sec. 3. The master of any vessel, who shall knowingly bring into the Canal Zone on such vessel and land, or attempt to land, or permit to be landed, any Chinese person, except as provided for in this order, shall be punished in the manner hereinafter prescribed, for each Chinese person so brought into and landed in the Canal Zone, or attempted or permitted to be landed therein; provided, however, that when a vessel, having Chinese persons on board, comes within the Canal Zone in distress, or under stress of weather, or when a vessel, having Chinese persons on board, touches at a port of the Canal Zone on its voyage to any foreign port or place, such Chinese persons may be permitted to land when authorized by the Governor of The Panama Canal, but they must depart from the Canal Zone with the vessel on its leaving the port.

Every person who aids or abets in the violation of this order shall be deemed equally guilty with the master of the vessel.

Sec. 4. The master of any vessel from a foreign port, with one or more Chinese persons on board, stopping at a port in the Canal Zone, in addition to the other matters required to be reported by him, shall deliver to the customs official of such Canal port, when he delivers his manifest of cargo, or if there be no cargo when he makes legal entry of his vessel, a descriptive list of all Chinese persons on board of his

vessel at the time of its arrival in the Canal Zone. Such list shall contain the names of such Chinese persons, and other particulars regarding them, shown by the ship's papers, and shall be sworn to and subscribed by the master before the customs official to whom the list is delivered; and the customs official is hereby authorized to administer the oath to the master, provided, that when a vessel passes through the Canal, without discharging or taking on cargo or passengers therein, the master of such vessel shall not be required to furnish the list of persons prescribed by this section. If the master of the vessel refuses to deliver the list as required by this section, or fails or refuses to take and subscribe the oath prescribed herein; or if the master of such vessel permits any Chinese person on board the ship to land in the Canal Zone except by authority of the Governor of The Panama Canal, he shall be deemed guilty of a violation of this section.

Sec. 5. Chinese persons, arriving from foreign ports, who desire to enter the Canal Zone in transit to other countries, may be permitted to do so upon such conditions as the Governor of The Panama Canal may prescribe by general or special authorization.

Sec. 6. No Chinese member of the crew of any vessel shall be paid off and discharged within a port of the Canal Zone, without the consent of the Panama Canal authorities, unless it be shown by the ship's articles that said Chinese member of the crew signed said articles at a port in the Canal Zone; and seamen or other members of a ship's crew of the Chinese race, when discharged at any port in the Canal Zone under authority of the Governor, may land and remain temporarily therein until a re-shipment is obtained by them, provided a bond in the sum of \$500.00 in each case, is executed by such Chinese person, satisfactory to the shipping commissioner, and payable to the Governor of The Panama Canal, and his successors in office, and conditioned that the principal in the bond, in good faith, will obtain a re-shipment and leave the Canal Zone at the earliest date practicable, to be fixed by the shipping commissioner; and said bond may be forfeited, for the full amount thereof, in favor of The Panama Canal, by judgment in the district court of the Canal Zone, should the principal in said bond fail to comply with any of the conditions thereof.

Sec. 7. This order shall not apply to diplomatic and consular agents of the Chinese government, who shall be entitled to be admitted into the Canal Zone upon proof of their official character; neither shall it apply to Chinese persons lawfully residing in the Canal Zone at the time of the promulgation of this order, but this shall not prevent their removal from the Canal Zone in accordance with the depopulation or deportation laws; neither shall this order apply to a Chinese person who is lawfully residing in the Republic of Panama at the time of the promulgation of this order, and such person shall be authorized to enter

into and cross the Canal Zone in a like manner as is permitted to the residents of the Republic of Panama; neither shall this order apply to Chinese persons whose services have been contracted for by the United States, The Panama Canal, or Panama Railroad Company, or any of the auxiliaries of the Canal or the Railroad Company; nor to domestic servants and others employed by persons engaged in the service of the Army or Navy of the United States, stationed in the Canal Zone, when such employment is with the sanction of the respective commanding officers of such forces on the Isthmus; nor shall it apply to any Chinese person coming into the Canal Zone by authority of the Governor of The Panama Canal.

Sec. 8. The Governor of The Panama Canal is hereby authorized to establish rules and regulations to more effectively carry out this order.

Sec. 9. A violation of any of the provisions of this order shall be punished by a fine not to exceed \$500.00 or imprisonment not to exceed one year, or both such fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court, in conformity with the above mentioned Act of Congress approved August 21, 1916.

Sec. 10. This order shall take effect sixty (60) days from and after its publication in the Panama Canal Record.

WOODROW WILSON.

[Naval Radio Stations for Alaska.]

The White House, February 20, 1917.

By virtue of the power and authority vested in and conferred upon me by the laws of the United States in that behalf made and provided, it is hereby ordered that the tract of land hereinafter described be and the same is hereby withdrawn from settlement, location, sale, entry, or other disposition, and reserved and set aside for the use of the U. S. Navy Department as a Naval Radio Station, namely:

Lots numbered 3 in section numbered 2, in T. 1 S., R. 1 W., containing 38.06 acres in Seward Principal Meridian, Alaska.

WOODROW WILSON.

The White House, February 21, 1917.

It is hereby ordered that all of the lands of the United States hereinafter described be, and the same are hereby, withdrawn from settlement, location, sale, or entry and reserved for the use of the Navy Department of the United States as a distant control receiving station, to be used in conjunction with naval radio station at Mile 31½, near Cordova, Alaska:

All lands of the United States within one-fourth of a mile of that point on the Copper River and Northwestern Railroad, Alaska, designated as Mile 7½, and located on the left side of the tracks of said railroad, traveling from Cordova, Alaska.

WOODROW WILSON.

SPECIAL MESSAGE

TO THE SENATE:

In response to the resolution adopted by the Senate on March 1, 1917, requesting the President to furnish the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, whatever information he has concerning the note published in the press of this date purporting to have been sent January 19, 1917, by the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the German Minister to Mexico, I transmit herewith a report by the Secretary of State, which has my approval. WOODROW WILSON.

[Inclosure.]

TO THE PRESIDENT:

The resolution adopted by the United States Senate on March 1, 1917, requesting that that body be furnished, if not incompatible with the public interest, whatever information you have concerning the note published in the press of this date, purporting to have been sent January 19, 1917, by the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the German Minister to Mexico, I have the honor to state that the Government is in possession of evidence which establishes the fact that the note referred to is authentic, and that it is in possession of the Government of the United States, and that the evidence was procured by this Government during the present week, but that it is, in my opinion, incompatible with the public interest to send to the Senate at the present time any further information in possession of the Government of the United States relative to the note mentioned in the resolution of the Senate.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT LANSING.

PROCLAMATION

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A PROCLAMATION

[Special Session of the Senate.]

Whereas public interests require that the Senate of the United States be convened at twelve o'clock on the fifth day of March next to receive such communications as may be made by the Executive;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Senate of the United States to convene at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 5th day of March next, at 12 o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as members of that body are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States at Washington, the twenty-third of February in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-first.

[SEAL.]

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON,

ROBERT LANSING, Secretary of State,

STATEMENT

[Issued from the White House by the President March 4, 1917, Following the Failure of the Sixty-fourth Congress to Pass the Armed Neutrality Act.]

The termination of the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress by constitutional limitation discloses a situation unparalleled in the history of the country, perhaps unparalleled in the history of any modern government.

In the immediate presence of a crisis fraught with more subtle and far-reaching possibilities of national danger than any other the Government has known within the whole history of its international relations, the Congress has been unable to act either to safeguard the country or to vindicate the elementary rights of its citizens.

More than five hundred of the five hundred and thirty-one members of the two Houses were ready and anxious to act; the House of Representatives had acted by an overwhelming majority; but the Senate was unable to act because a little group of eleven Senators had determined that it should not.

The Senate has no rules by which debate can be limited or brought to an end, no rules by which dilatory tactics of any kind can be prevented. A single member can stand in the way of action if he have but the physical endurance.

The result in this case is a complete paralysis alike of the legislative and of the executive branches of the Government.

The inability of the Senate to act has rendered some of the most necessary legislation of the session impossible, at a time when the need for it was most pressing and most evident. The bill which would have permitted such combinations of capital and of organization in the export and import trade of the country as the circumstances of international competition have made imperative—a bill which the business judgment of the whole country approved and demanded—has failed.

The opposition of one or two Senators has made it impossible to increase the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission or to give it the altered organization necessary for its efficiency.

The Conservation bill, which should have released for immediate use the mineral resources which are still locked up in the public lands, now that their release is more imperatively necessary than ever, and the bill which would have made the unused water power of the country immediately available for industry, have both failed, though they have been under consideration throughout the sessions of the two Congresses and have been twice passed by the House of Representatives.

The appropriations for the army have failed, along with the appropriations for the civil establishment of the Government, the appropriations for the Military Academy and the General Deficiency bill.

It has proved impossible to extend the powers of the Shipping Board

to meet the special needs of the new situation into which our commerce has been forced, or to increase the gold reserve of our national banking system to meet the circumstances of the existing financial situation.

It would not cure the difficulty to call the Sixty-fifth Congress in extraordinary session. The paralysis of the Senate would remain. The purpose and the spirit of action are not lacking now.

The Congress is more definitely united in thought and purpose at this moment, I venture to say, than it has been within the memory of any man now in its membership. There is not only the most united patriotic purpose, but the objects members have in view are perfectly clear and definite. But the Senate cannot act unless its leaders can obtain unanimous consent. Its majority is powerless, helpless.

In the midst of a crisis of extraordinary peril, when only definite and decided action can make the nation safe or shield it from war itself by the aggression of others, action is impossible.

Although as a matter of fact the nation and the representatives of the nation stand back of the executive with unprecedented unanimity and spirit, the impression made abroad will, of course, be that it is not so and that other governments may act as they please without fear that this Government can do anything at all. We cannot explain.

The explanation is incredible. The Senate of the United States is the only legislative body in the world which cannot act when its majority is ready for action. A little group of wilful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible.

The remedy? There is but one remedy. The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall be so altered that it can act. The country can be relied upon to draw the moral. I believe the Senate can be relied on to supply the means of action and save the country from disaster.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

The White House, January 15, 1917.

[Creating an Inter-Departmental Board on Location of Nitrate Plants.]

An Inter-Departmental Board, consisting of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture, is hereby organized for the purpose of making the necessary investigations and submitting recommendations relative to the selection of a site or sites suitable for a plant or plants authorized by section one hundred and twenty-four of the act approved June 3, 1916, to be constructed and operated for the production of nitrates and other products needed for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers and other useful products.

This board will consider, through actual examination thereof or otherwise and with such expedition as may be possible, the suitability

of water power sites in different parts of the United States for the purposes prescribed by the statute, and will recommend a site or sites for the plant or plants which in its judgment should be established.

This board will have power to direct other representatives of their own or other Departments of the Government to appear before it to give information, aid or advice, and to employ such clerical assistance as may be necessary.

A complete record and minutes of the proceedings of this board will be kept, and a full report of the board, with the record of its proceedings and its recommendations, will be submitted to the President.

WOODROW WILSON.

PROCLAMATIONS

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Enlarging Whitman National Forest, Oregon.]

Whereas, it appears that the lands hereinafter described, in the State of Oregon, have been found by the Secretary of Agriculture to be chiefly valuable for the production of timber or for the protection of stream flow; and

Whereas, it appears that such lands should be added to the Whitman National Forest;

Now, therefore, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by section 1 of the Act of Congress approved September 8, 1916 (39 Stat., 852), entitled "An Act Authorizing an adjustment of the boundaries of the Whitman National Forest, in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes," do proclaim that the boundaries of the Whitman National Forest are hereby changed to include the following described lands:

Parts of townships 10, 11 and 12, ranges 34, 35 and 36, east of Willamette meridian, as shown on map submitted.

The withdrawal made by this proclamation shall, as to all lands which are at this date legally appropriated under the public land laws or reserved for any public purpose, be subject to and shall not interfere with or defeat legal rights under such appropriation, nor prevent the use for such public purpose of lands so reserved, so long as such appropriation is legally maintained or such reservation remains in force.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this thirty-first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and
[SEAL.] seventeen, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-first.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[Declaring an Emergency in Water Transportation of the United States.]

Whereas, Congress did by "An Act To establish a United States Shipping Board for the purpose of encouraging, developing and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions and with foreign countries; to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States; and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, provide that "during any national emergency the existence of which is declared by proclamation of the President, no vessel registered or enrolled and licensed under the laws of the United States shall, without the approval of the board, be sold, leased or chartered to any person not a citizen of the United States, or transferred to a foreign registry or flag";

And whereas, many shipowners of the United States are permitting their ships to pass to alien registers and to foreign trades in which we do not participate, and from which they cannot be bought back to serve the needs of our water-borne commerce without the permission of governments of foreign nations;

Now, therefore, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority conferred in me by said Act of Congress, do hereby declare and proclaim that I have found that there exists a national emergency arising from the insufficiency of maritime tonnage to carry the products of the farms, forests, mines and manufacturing industries of the United States to their consumers abroad and within the United States, and I do hereby admonish all citizens of the United States and every person to abstain from every violation of the provisions of said Act of Congress, and I do hereby warn them that all violations of such provisions will be rigorously prosecuted, and I do hereby enjoin upon all officers of the United States, charged with the execution of the laws thereof, the utmost diligence in preventing violations of said Act, and this my proclamation issued thereunder, and in bringing to trial and punishment any offenders against the same.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 5th day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seven-
[SEAL.] teen, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-first.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON.

/ ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*.

MISCELLANEOUS ADDRESSES

[Motion Picture Board of Trade Banquet; Delivered in New York City at the Biltmore Hotel, Jan. 27, 1916.]

MR. TOASTMASTER AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I wondered when I was on my way here what would be expected of me. It occurred to me that perhaps I would only be expected to go through the motions of a speech, and then I reflected that, never having seen myself speak and generally having my thoughts concentrated upon what I had to say, I had not the least notion what my motions were when I made a speech. Because it has never occurred to me in my simplicity to make a speech before a mirror. If you will give me time, I will rehearse this difficult part and return and perform it for you.

I have sometimes been very much chagrined in seeing myself in a motion picture. I have wondered if I really was that kind of a "guy." The extraordinary rapidity with which I walked, for example, the instantaneous and apparently automatic nature of my motion, the way in which I produce uncommon grimaces, and altogether the extraordinary exhibition I make of myself sends me to bed very unhappy. And I often think to myself that, although all the world is a stage and men and women but actors upon it, after all the external appearances of things are very superficial indeed. I am very much more interested in what my fellow-men are thinking about than in the motions through which they are going. While we unconsciously display a great deal of human nature in our visible actions, there are some very deep waters which no picture can sound.

When you think of a great nation, ladies and gentlemen, you are not thinking of a visible thing; you are thinking of a spiritual thing. I suppose a man in public office feels this with a peculiar poignancy, because what it is important for him to know is the real, genuine sentiments and emotions of the people that make up the nation. I found out what was going on in Mexico in a very singular way,—by hearing a sufficiently large number of liars talk about it. I think the psychological explanation will interest you.

You know that the truth is consistent with itself; one piece matches another. Now no man is an inventive enough liar not to bring in large sections of truth in what he says, and after all the liars are done talking to you about the same subject it will come to your consciousness that long and large pieces of what they said matched; that in that respect they all said the same thing; that the variations are lies and the consistencies are the truth. They will not all tell you the same piece of the truth, so that if you hear enough of them, you may get the whole of the truth. And yet it is very tedious to hear men lie, particularly when you know they are lying. You feel like reminding them that really your time is important to you and that you wish they

would get down to business and tell you what is really so, but they do not. They want this adventure of their invention; they want to give an excursion to their minds before they get down to business. What I particularly object to is a very able man with a lot of inventions coming to me and lying to me, because then the interview is very tedious and long before we get down to business. I got to know that story so by heart that the last time a deputation visited me about Mexico I thought I would save time and I told them exactly what they were going to say to me. They went away very much confused; they wondered how I had heard it, because they knew it was not so.

Yet underneath all of this are those great pulses which throb in great bodies of men and drive the great affairs of state, and I wonder how men venture to try to deceive a great nation. There never was a profounder saying than that of Lincoln that you can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time, and the best way in which to silence any friend of yours whom you know to be a fool is to induce him to hire a hall. Nothing chills pretense like exposure. Nothing will bear the tests of examination for a shorter length of time than pretense. At least so I try to persuade myself, and yet there are some humbugs that have been at large a long time. I suppose that there is always a rising generation whom they can fool, but the older heads ought not to permit themselves to be fooled.

I should think that in a year like the year 1916, when there is to be a common reckoning for everybody, men would hurry up and begin to tell the truth. They are not hurrying about it; they are taking their time, but the American people are going to insist upon it before this year is over that everybody comes up and is counted on the great questions of the day. They are not going to take any excuses, they are not going to take any pretenses; they are going to insist upon the goods being delivered on the spot, and anybody that declines to deliver them is going to go bankrupt, and ought to go bankrupt. Everybody ought to get what is coming to him.

But I came here to say that I hoped you would not believe that I am what I appear to be in the pictures you make of me. I really am a pretty decent fellow! And I have a lot of emotions that do not show on the surface, and the things that I do not say would fill a library. The great curse of public life is that you are not allowed to say all the things that you think. Some of my opinions about some men are extremely picturesque, and if you could only take a motion picture of them, you would think it was Vesuvius in eruption. Yet all these volcanic forces, all these things that are going on inside of me, have to be concealed under a most grave and reverend exterior, and I have to make believe that I have nothing but respectable and

solemn thoughts all the time. There is a lot going on inside of me that would be entertaining to any audience anywhere.

I am very much complimented that you should have allowed me to come in at this late hour in your feast and, without partaking of the pleasures of conversation, to make you all, whether you would or not, listen to me talk. My object in life is not talking. I wish there were less talking to do. I wish that not everybody had to be persuaded to do the right thing. I wish that the things that are obvious did not have to be explained. I wish that principles did not have to be re-expounded. We all in our hearts agree upon the fundamental principles of our lives and of our life as a nation; now we ought to tax ourselves with the duty of seeing that those principles are realized in action and no fooling about it. The only difficult things in life, ladies and gentlemen, are the applications of the principles of right and wrong. I can set forth the abstract principles of right and wrong, and so can you, but when it comes down to an individual item of conduct, whether in public affairs or in private affairs, there comes the pinch,—in the first place, to see the right way to do it; and, in the second place, to do it that way. If we could only agree that in all matters of public concern we would adjourn our private interests, look each other frankly in the face and say, "We are all ready at whatever sacrifice of our own interest to do in common the thing that the common weal demands," what an irresistible force America would be! I can point out to you a few men,—of course, I am not going to name them now,—whom every man ought to be afraid of, because nothing but the truth resides in them. I have one in particular in mind whom I have never caught thinking about himself. I would not dare make a pretense in the presence of that man even if I wanted to. His eyes contain the penetrating light of truth before which all disguises fall away.

Suppose we were all like that! It would hasten the millennium immensely. And if Americans were always to do what when the real temper of America is aroused they do, the world would always turn to America for guidance and America would be the most potent and influential force in all the world. So that when I look at pictures, whether they move or whether they do not move, I think of all the deep sources of happiness and of pain, of joy and of misery, that lie beneath that surface, and I am interested chiefly in the heart that beats underneath it all. For I know that there is the pulse and the machinery of all the great forces of the world.

[Religious Antagonism; Delivered at an Interdenominational Meeting, Held in Aeolian Hall, New York City, Jan. 27, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: You have paid me a great honor to-day, and I want to say how deeply and from the heart I appreciate it. I feel that you have unduly honored me as a man and that most of the things you have been pleased to say can be truly said of me only as a representative of the great people whom we all love. Because in my efforts for peace I have been conscious of representing the spirit of America and no private convictions merely of my own. It is hard to hold the balance even, where so many passions are involved, but I have known that in their hearts and by their purpose the people of America were seeking to hold the balance even. The neutrality of the United States has not been a merely formal matter. It has been a matter of conviction and of the heart, and in reflecting upon peace and the means of maintaining it, one is obliged to search for the foundations of peace. I can find no other foundation for peace than is laid in justice without aggression. If you wish to be just and insist upon being justly treated and have no motive of covetousness or aggression, I believe you stand upon the only firm foundations which will sustain peace.

The greatest thing in the world, the greatest force in the world, is character, and I believe that character can be expressed upon a national scale and by a nation; that every act of a nation, at any rate of a nation which opens its counsels to the voice of the people themselves, expresses its character in its attitude toward its own affairs and in its attitude toward the affairs of other nations. America has always stood resolutely and absolutely for the right of every people to determine its own destiny and its own affairs. I am so absolute a disciple of that doctrine that I am ready to do that thing and observe that principle in dealing with the troubled affairs of our distressed neighbor to the south. And similarly it is the passion of America to be permitted to live her own life according to her own principle. The only thing that she profoundly resents, or will ever profoundly resent, is having her life and freedom interfered with. Those are the terms of self-respect upon which we deal with one another as individuals, and those are the terms of self-respect upon which nations deal with one another. Because character is determined, at any rate is manifested, by what an individual and a nation most quickly respond to. I have never found audiences in America responding to any doctrine or purpose of aggression, but I have found them responding instantly, as the instrument responds to the hand of the musician, to every sentiment of justice and every ideal of liberty and every purpose of freedom.

America has not grown cold with regard to the great things for which she created a Government and a Nation, and these are the only things

that stir her passion; and surely it is a handsome and elevated passion, a disinterested passion, because at its heart dwells the interest of every man and every woman within her confines. There is a further foundation for peace additional to this conception of justice and of fairness to others. That is our internal attitude toward each other. America has been hospitable in an unprecedented degree toward all nations, all races, all creeds. She has seemed almost to desire to be made up of all the stocks and influenced by all the thoughts of the wide world. She has seemed to realize that she could be fertile only if every great impulse were planted amongst her. So she has set for herself in this process, which is still unfinished, of uniting and amalgamating these things, the problem of making disparate things live together in peace and accommodation and harmony. The peace of America depends upon the attitude of the different elements of race and thought of which she is made up toward one another.

I have been deeply disturbed, gentlemen, I think every thoughtful American has been deeply disturbed, at the evidence afforded in recent days of the recrudescence of religious antagonisms in this country. That is a very dangerous thing which cuts at the very root of the American spirit. If men do not love one another, they can not love peace. If men are intolerant of one another they will be intolerant of the processes of peace, which are the processes of accommodation. "Live and let live" is a very homely phrase, and yet it is the basis of social existence. I have neighbors whose manners and opinions I would very much like to alter, but I entertain a suspicion that they would in turn very much like to alter mine, and I am afraid that if I began the process in their direction they might insist upon it in mine; and upon reflection as I grow older I agree to live and let live. Birrell says somewhere, "The child beats its nurse and cries for the moon; the old man sips his gruel humbly and thanks God that nobody beats him." I have not yet quite reached that point of humility, and I always accept, perhaps by some impulse of my native blood, the invitation to a fight; but I hope I always conduct the fight in knightly fashion. I hope I do not traduce my antagonists. I hope that I fight them with the purpose and intention of converting them, and I know that I wish that the best argument and the right purpose shall prevail. It is not a case of knock down and drag out; it is a case of putting up the best reason why your own side should survive. These franknesses of controversy, these knightly equalities of condition in the fight, are the necessary conditions precedent to peace. Peace does not mean inaction. There may be infinite activity; there may be almost violent activity in the midst of peace.

Peace dwells, after all, in the character and in the heart, and that is where peace is rooted in this blessed country of ours. It is rooted

in the hearts of the people. The only place where tinder lies, and the spark may kindle a flame, is where still deeper things lie which they love, the principles and independence of their own life. Let no man drop fire there. Because peace is inconsistent with the loss of self-respect. More than that, peace is inconsistent with the abandonment of principle.

But these things are not to be thought of. These things, I pray God, may never be challenged. I mention them merely that we may frankly remind each other of the conditions under which we live. We believe in peace, but we believe also in justice and righteousness and liberty, and peace can not subsist without these. In what you have too generously praised me for, therefore, gentlemen, I have conceived myself merely as the spokesman of yourselves and of all other Americans who, like yourselves, are thoughtful of the welfare and ideals of America. These are very responsible days. I do not see how any man dares utter anything but the truth in this tense atmosphere. I do not see how any man can in conscience display narrow or partisan passion. We are all of one spiritual kith and kin, and a great family is building up here which I believe in my heart will set an example to the world of those things which elevate and purify and strengthen mankind.

[Railway Business Association's Seventh Annual Dinner at the Waldorf Astoria, New York City, Jan. 27, 1916.]

MR. TOASTMASTER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The exactions of my official duties have recently been so great that it has been very seldom indeed that I could give myself so great a pleasure as that which I am enjoying to-night. It is a great pleasure to come and be greeted in such generous fashion by men so thoughtful as yourselves and so deeply engaged in some of the most important undertakings of the Nation, and I consider it a privilege to be permitted to lay before you some of the things to which we ought to give our most careful and deliberate consideration.

The question, it seems to me, which most demands clarification just now is the question to which your toastmaster has referred, the question of preparation for national defense. I say that it stands in need of clarification because it has been deeply clouded by passion and prejudice. It is very singular that a question the elements of which are so simple and so obvious should have been so beclouded by the discussion of men of high motive, men of purpose as handsome as any of us may claim and yet apparently incapable of divesting themselves of that sort of provincialism which consists in thinking the contents of their own mind to be the contents of the mind of the world. For, gentlemen, while America is a very great Nation, while America contains every element of fine force and accomplishment,

America does not constitute the major part of the world. We live in a world which we did not make, which we can not alter, which we can not think into a different condition from that which actually exists. It would be a hopeless piece of provincialism to suppose that because we think differently from the rest of the world we are at liberty to assume that the rest of the world will permit us to enjoy that thought without disturbance.

It is a surprising circumstance, also, that men should allow partisan feeling or personal ambition to creep into the discussion of this fundamental thing. How can Americans differ about the safety of America? I, for my part, am ambitious that America should do a greater and more difficult thing than the great nations on the other side of the water have done. In all the belligerent countries men without distinction of party have drawn together to accomplish a successful prosecution of the war. Is it not a more difficult and a more desirable thing that all Americans should put partisan prepossessions aside and draw together for the successful prosecution of peace? I covet that distinction for America; and I believe that America is going to enjoy that distinction. Only the other day the leader of the Republican minority in the House of Representatives delivered a speech which showed that he was ready and, I take it for granted, that the men behind him were ready, to forget party lines in order that all men may act with a common mind and impulse for the service of the country; and I want upon this first public occasion to pay my tribute of respect and obligation to him.

I find it very hard indeed to approach this subject without very deep emotion, gentlemen, because when we speak of America and the things that are to be conserved in her, does it not call a wonderful picture into your mind? America is young still; she is not yet even in the heyday of her development and power. Think of the great treasures of youth and energy and ideal purpose still to be drawn from the deep sources from which this Nation has always drawn its life. Think of the service which those forces can and must render to the rest of the world. Think of the position into which America has been drawn, almost in spite of herself, by the circumstances of the present day. She alone is free to help find things wherever they show themselves in the world. She will be forced also, whether she will or not, in the decades immediately ahead of us, to furnish the world with its chief economic guidance and assistance.

It is very fine to remember what ideals will be back of that assistance. Economic assistance in itself is not necessarily handsome. It is a legitimate thing to make money, but it is not an ideal thing to make money. Money brings with it power which may be well or ill employed, and it should be the pride of America always to employ her money to the highest purpose. Yet if we are drawn into the

maelstrom that now surges across the water, swirls alike in the western and eastern regions of the world, we shall not be permitted to keep a free hand to do the high things that we intend to do. It is necessary, therefore, that we should examine ourselves and see whether we can make certain that the tasks imposed upon us will be performed, well performed, and performed without interruption.

America has been reluctant to match her wits with the rest of the world. When I face a body of men like this it is almost incredible to remember that only yesterday they were afraid to put their wits into free competition with the world. The best brains in the world afraid to match brains with the rest of the world. We have preferred to be provincial. We have preferred to stand behind protecting devices. And now, whether we will or no, we are thrust out to do on a scale never dreamed of by recent generations in America the business of the world. We can not any longer be a provincial Nation.

Let no man dare to say, if he would speak the truth, that the question of preparation for national defense is a question of war or of peace. If there is one passion more deep-seated in the hearts of our fellow countrymen than another, it is the passion for peace. No nation in the world ever more instinctively turned away from the thought of war than this Nation to which we belong. Partly because in the plenitude of its power, in the unrestricted area of its opportunities, it has found nothing to covet in the possession and power of other nations. There is no spirit of aggrandizement in America. There is no desire on the part of any thoughtful and conscientious American man to take one foot of territory from any other nation in the world. I myself share to the bottom of my heart that profound love for peace. I have sought to maintain peace against very great and sometimes very unfair odds. I have had many a time to use every power that was in me to prevent such a catastrophe as war coming upon this country. It is not permissible for any man to say that anxiety for the defense of the Nation has in it the least tinge of desire for a power that can be used to bring on war.

But, gentlemen, there is something that the American people love better than they love peace. They love the principles upon which their political life is founded. They are ready at any time to fight for the vindication of their character and of their honor. They will not at any time seek the contest, but they will at no time cravenly avoid it; because if there is one thing that the individual ought to fight for, and that the Nation ought to fight for, it is the integrity of its own convictions. We can not surrender our convictions. I would rather surrender territory than surrender those ideals which are the staff of life of the soul itself.

And because we hold certain ideals we have thought that it was right that we should hold them for others as well as for ourselves.

America has more than once given evidence of the generosity and disinterestedness of its love of liberty. It has been willing to fight for the liberty of others as well as for its own liberty. The world sneered when we set out upon the liberation of Cuba, but the world sneers no longer. The world now knows, what it was then loath to believe, that a nation can sacrifice its own interests and its own blood for the sake of the liberty and happiness of another people. Whether by one process or another, we have made ourselves in some sort the champions of free government and national sovereignty in both continents of this hemisphere; so that there are certain obligations which every American knows that we have undertaken.

The first and primary obligation is the maintenance of the integrity of our own sovereignty. That goes as of course. There is also the maintenance of our liberty to develop our political institutions without hindrance; and, last of all, there is the determination and the obligation to stand as the strong brother of all those in this hemisphere who mean to maintain the same principles and follow the same ideals of liberty.

May I venture to insert here a parenthesis? Have any of you thought of this? We have slowly, very slowly indeed, begun to win the confidence of the other States of the American hemisphere. If we should go into Mexico, do you not know what would happen? All the sympathies of the rest of America would look across the water and not northward to the great Republic which we profess to represent; and do you not see the consequences that would ensue in every international relation? Have gentlemen who have rushed down to Washington to insist that we should go into Mexico reflected upon the politics of the world? Nobody seriously supposes, gentlemen, that the United States needs to fear an invasion of its own territory. What America has to fear, if she has anything to fear, are indirect, round-about, flank movements upon her regnant position in the Western Hemisphere. Are we going to open those gates, or are we going to close them? For they are the gates to the hearts of our American friends to the south of us and not gates to the ports merely. Win their spirits and you have won the only sort of leadership and the only sort of safety that America covets. We must all of us think from this time out in terms of the world, and must learn what it is that America has set out to maintain as a standard bearer for all those who love liberty and justice and righteousness in political action.

But, gentlemen, we must find means to do this thing which are suitable to the time and suitable to our own ideals. Suitable to the time—does anybody understand the time? Perhaps when you learned, as I dare say you did learn beforehand, that I was expecting to address you on the subject of preparedness, you recalled the address

which I made to Congress something more than a year ago, in which I said that this question of military preparedness was not a pressing question. But more than a year has gone by since then and I would be ashamed if I had not learned something in fourteen months. The minute I stop changing my mind with the change of all the circumstances of the world, I will be a back number.

There is another thing about which I have changed my mind. A year ago I was not in favor of a tariff board, and I will tell you why. Then the only purpose of a tariff board was to keep alive an unprofitable controversy. If you set up any board of inquiry whose purpose it is to keep business disturbed and to make it always an open question what you are going to do about the public policy of the Government, I am opposed to it; and the very men who were dinning it into our ears that what business wanted was to be let alone were, many of them, men who were insisting that we should stir up a controversy which meant that we could not let business alone. There is a great deal more opinion vocal in this world than is consistent with logic. But the circumstances of the present time are these: There is going on in the world under our eyes an economic revolution. No man understands that revolution; no man has the elements of it clearly in his mind. No part of the business of legislation with regard to international trade can be undertaken until we do understand it; and members of Congress are too busy, their duties are too multifarious and distracting, to make it possible within a sufficiently short space of time for them to master the change that is coming.

I hear a great many things predicted about the end of the war, but I do not know what is going to happen at the end of the war; and neither do you. There are two diametrically opposed views as to immigration. Some men tell us that at least a million men are going to leave the country and others tell us that many millions are going to rush into it. Neither party knows what they are talking about, and I am one of those prudent individuals who would really like to know the facts before he forms an opinion; not out of wisdom but out of prudence. I have lived long enough to know that if I do not, the facts will get away with me. I have come to have a great and wholesome respect for the facts. I have had to yield to them sometimes before I saw them coming and that has led me to keep a weather eye open in order that I may see them coming. There is so much to understand that we have not the data to comprehend that I for one would not dare, so far as my advice is concerned, to leave the Government without the adequate means of inquiry—but that is another parenthesis.

What I am trying to impress upon you now is that the circumstances of the world to-day are not what they were yesterday, or ever were in any of our yesterdays. And it is not certain what they

will be to-morrow. I can not tell you what the international relations of this country will be to-morrow, and I use the word literally; and I would not dare keep silent and let the country suppose that to-morrow was certain to be as bright as to-day. America will never be the aggressor, America will always seek to the last point at which her honor is involved to avoid the things which disturb the peace of the world; but America does not control the circumstances of the world, and we must be sure that we are faithful servants of those things which we love, and are ready to defend them against every contingency that may affect or impair them.

And, as I was saying a moment ago, we must seek the means which are consistent with the principles of our lives. It goes without saying, though apparently it is necessary to say it to some excited persons, that one thing that this country never will endure is a system that can be called militarism. But militarism consists in this, gentlemen: It consists in preparing a great machine whose only use is for war and giving it no use upon which to expend itself. Men who are in charge of edged tools and bidden to prepare them for exact and scientific use grow very impatient if they are not permitted to use them, and I do not believe that the creation of such an instrument is an insurance of peace. I believe that it involves the danger of all the impulses that skillful persons have to use the things that they know how to use.

But we do not have to do that. America is always going to use her army in two ways. She is going to use it for the purposes of peace, and she is going to use it as a nucleus for expansion into those things which she does believe in, namely, the preparation of her citizens to take care of themselves. There are two sides to the question of preparation; there is not merely the military side, there is the industrial side; and the ideal which I have in mind is this: We ought to have in this country a great system of industrial and vocational education under federal guidance and with federal aid, in which a very large percentage of the youth of this country will be given training in the skillful use and application of the principles of science in manufacture and business; and it will be perfectly feasible and highly desirable to add to that and combine with it such a training in the mechanism and care and use of arms, in the sanitation of camps, in the simpler forms of maneuver and organization, as will make these same men at one and the same time industrially efficient and immediately serviceable for national defense. The point about such a system will be that its emphasis will lie on the industrial and civil side of life, and that, like all the rest of America, the use of force will only be in the background and as the last resort. Men will think first of their families and their daily work, of their

service in the economic ranks of the country, of their efficiency as artisans, and only last of all of their serviceability to the Nation as soldiers and men at arms. That is the ideal of America.

But, gentlemen, you can not create such a system overnight; you can not create such a system rapidly. It has got to be built up, and I hope it will be built up, by slow and effective stages; and there is much to be done in the meantime. We must see to it that a sufficient body of citizens is given the kind of training which will make them efficient now if called into the field in case of necessity. It is discreditable to this country, gentlemen, for this is a country full of intelligent men, that we should have exhibited to the world the example we have sometimes exhibited to it, of stupid and brutal waste of force. Think of asking men who can be easily trained to come into the field, crude, ignorant, inexperienced, and merely furnishing the stuff for camp fever and the bullets of the enemy. The sanitary experience of our army in the Spanish-American War was merely an indictment of America's indifference to the manifest lessons of experience in the matter of ordinary, careful preparation. We have got the men to waste, but God forbid that we should waste them. Men who go as efficient instruments of national honor into the field afford a very handsome spectacle indeed. Men who go in crude and ignorant boys only indict those in authority for stupidity and neglect. So it seems to me that it is our manifest duty to have a proper citizen reserve.

I am not forgetting our National Guard. I have had the privilege of being governor of one of our great States, and there I was brought into association with what I am glad to believe is one of the most efficient portions of the National Guard of the Nation. I learned to admire the men, to respect the officers, and to believe in the National Guard; and I believe that it is the duty of Congress to do very much more for the National Guard than it has ever done heretofore. I believe that that great arm of our national defense should be built up and encouraged to the utmost; but, you know, gentlemen, that under the Constitution of the United States the National Guard is under the direction of more than two-score States; that it is not permitted to the National Government directly to have a voice in its development and organization; and that only upon occasion of actual invasion has the President of the United States the right to ask those men to leave their respective States. I, for my part, am afraid, though some gentlemen differ with me, that there is no way in which that force can be made a direct resource as a national reserve under national authority.

What we need is a body of men trained in association with units of the army, a body of men organized under the immediate direction of the national authority, a body of men subject to the immediate call to

arms of the national authority, and yet men not put into the ranks of the regular army; men left to their tasks of civil life, men supplied with equipment and training, but not drawn away from the peaceful pursuits which have made America great and must keep her great. I am not a partisan of any one plan. I have had too much experience to think that it is right to say that the plan that I propose is the only plan that will work, because I have a shrewd suspicion that there may be other plans that will work. What I am after, and what every American ought to insist upon, is a body of at least half a million trained citizens who will serve under conditions of danger as an immediately available national reserve.

I am not saying anything about the navy to-night, because for some reason there is not the same controversy about the navy that there is about the army. The navy is obvious and easily understood; the army apparently is very difficult to comprehend and understand. We have a traditional prejudice against armies which makes us stop thinking calmly the minute we begin talking about them. We suppose that all armies are alike and that there can not be an American army system, that it must be a European system, and that is what I for one am trying to divest my own mind of. The navy is so obvious an instrument of national defense that I believe that, with differences of opinion about the detail, it is not going to be difficult to carry out a proper and reasonable program for the increase of the navy.

But that is another story; my theme to-night is national defense on land where we seem most negligent of it. And I do not want to leave in your minds the impression that I have any anxiety as to the outcome, for I have not the slightest. There is only one way for parties and individuals to win the confidence of this Nation and that is by doing the things that ought to be done. Nobody is going to be deceived. Speeches are not going to win elections. The facts are going to speak for themselves and speak louder than anybody who controverts them. No political party, no group of men, can afford to disappoint America. This is a year of political accounting, and the Americans in politics are rather expert accountants. They know what the books contain and they are not going to be deceived about them. No man is going to hide behind any excuse; the goods must be delivered or the confidence will not be enjoyed. For my part, I hope that every man in public life will get what is coming to him.

If this is true, gentlemen, it is because of things that lie much deeper than laughter, much deeper than cheers; lie down at the very roots of our life. America refuses to be deceived about the things that most concern her national honor and national safety, that lie at the foundation of everything that you love. It is the solemn time when men must examine not only their purposes but their hearts.

Men must purge themselves of individual ambition, and must see to it that they are ready for the utmost self-sacrifice in the interests of the common welfare. Let no man dare play the marplot. Let no man dare bring partisan passion into these great things. Let men honestly debate the facts and courageously act upon them. Then there will come that day when the world will say, "This America that we thought was full of a multitude of contrary counsels now speaks with the great volume of the heart's accord, and that great heart of America has behind it the supreme moral force of righteousness and hope and the liberty of mankind."

[Public Opinion on National Defense; Delivered in Soldiers' Memorial Hall, Pittsburgh, Pa., Jan. 29, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am conscious of a sort of truancy in being absent from my duties in Washington, and yet it did seem to me to be clearly the obligation laid upon me by the office to which I have been chosen that, as your servant and representative, I should come and report to you upon the progress of public affairs.

It has always been a feeling of mine that the best place for public servants was in the presence of those they serve, and that it was the obvious duty of every public man to hold frank counsel with the people themselves. I must frankly admit, with apologies to the chairman of the meeting and his associates, that I get a great deal more inspiration outside of Washington than inside of it; not because others are not as devoted as I am to the performance of their duties, but because the people of the United States live outside of Washington. And the subject upon which I have come to address you is one upon which frank counsel is particularly needed.

You know that there is a multitude of voices upon the question of national defense, and I, for my part, am not inclined to criticise any of the views that have been put forth upon this important subject, because if there is one thing we love more than another in the United States, it is that every man should have the privilege, unmolested and uncriticised, to utter the real convictions of his mind. Some of the things that are being said proceed from sentiment, and I would be the last to detract from genuine sentiment. I feel myself moved by some of the sentiments, with the conclusions of which I can not agree, just as much as the gentlemen are moved themselves who utter them. I believe in peace, I love peace. I would not be a true American if I did not love peace. But I know that peace costs something, and that the only way in which you can maintain peace is by thoroughly enjoying the respect of everybody with whom you deal. While, therefore, I can subscribe to every desire which those fine people have who are counselling us against assuming arms in this country,

I must ask them to think a second time about the circumstances under which we are living.

There are other counselors the source of whose counsel is passion, and with them I can not agree. It is not wise, it is not possible, to guide national policy under the impulse of passion. I would be ashamed of the passion of fear, and I would try to put the passion of aggression entirely aside in advising my fellow citizens what they should do at any great crisis of their national life. America does not desire anything that any other nation can give it except friendship and justice and right conduct, and I am sorry for my part to see any passion, whether of fear or of dislike, stir the counsels of America. I have counseled my fellow citizens not only to be neutral in action in the presence of the present great European struggle, but also to be neutral in spirit and in feeling, and I have tried for my own part to hold off from every passion. I know it is not easy. When the world is running red with blood it is hard to keep the judgment cool. When men are suffering and offering up heroic sacrifice it is hard not to let the passion of sympathy take precedence over cool judgment. But while I can understand the excitements of the mind which circumstances have generated, I would tremble to see them guide the decisions of the country.

And there is other advice which we get, which proceeds from professional enthusiasm. I am glad that the soldiers and sailors of the United States have professional enthusiasm, but I would not like them to run away with me any more than I would like the passions and sympathies of my fellow countrymen to run away with me. While we admire their zeal, we must square their judgment with other standards than the professional standard. I admire every man's professional enthusiasm, but I would not wish to be guided by every man's professional enthusiasm. It is time, therefore, that we attempted at any rate to apply the standards of our own situation and of our own life to this great question of national defense.

What is it that we want to defend? You do not need to have me answer that question for you; it is your own thought. We want to defend the life of this Nation against any sort of interference. We want to maintain the equal right of this Nation as against the action of all other nations, and we wish to maintain the peace and unity of the Western Hemisphere. Those are great things to defend, and in their defense sometimes our thought must take a great sweep, even beyond our own borders. Do you never stop to reflect just what it is that America stands for? If she stands for one thing more than another, it is for the sovereignty of self-governing peoples, and her example, her assistance, her encouragement, has thrilled two continents in this Western World with all the fine impulses which have

built up human liberty on both sides of the water. She stands, therefore, as an example of independence, as an example of free institutions, and as an example of disinterested international action in the maintenance of justice. These are very great things to defend, and wherever they are attacked America has at least the duty of example, has at least the duty of such action as it is possible for her with self-respect to take, in order that these things may not be neglected or thrust on one side.

So it seems to me that the thing that we are in love with in America is efficiency. Not merely business efficiency; not merely efficiency in manufacturing and in the professions; not merely the raising of great crops and the getting of our treasure out of the bowels of the earth and the manufacture of our raw materials into the things that are most useful to civilization. That efficiency merely underlies and furnishes a foundation for something a great deal bigger than that. We want the spirit of America to be efficient. We want American character to be efficient. We want American character to display itself in what I may perhaps be allowed to call spiritual efficiency—clear, disinterested thinking and fearless action along the right lines of thought. America is nothing if it consists merely of each of us; it is something only if it consists of all of us, and it can not consist of all of us unless our spirits are banded together in a common enterprise. That common enterprise is the enterprise of liberty and justice and right. Therefore, I for my part have a great enthusiasm for rendering America spiritually efficient, and that conception lies at the basis of what seems very far removed from it, namely, the plans that have been proposed for the military efficiency of this Nation.

Those plans do not involve a great army, because that is not America's way of being efficient in respect of her physical force. We do not intend, we never intend, to have a standing army greater than necessary for the ordinary uses of peace; but we want to have back of that army a people who can rally to its assistance in the most efficacious fashion at any time they are called on to do so, but who, in the meantime, are not professional soldiers, who do not take the professional soldier's point of view in respect of public affairs, whose thought is upon their daily tasks of peaceful industry, and who know that in the United States the civilian takes precedence of the soldier.

Your chairman has just told you that the Constitution of the United States makes the President Commander in Chief of the armies and navies of the United States, and not often has the President been a soldier. I have sometimes said playfully that it was very awkward when dressed in a frock coat and a silk hat to ride a horse and review troops, and the only reason I have consented to do so is because those formal garments, the very sombre and formal garments which con-

stitute a man's full dress in the daytime, are the symbol upon such occasions of the supremacy of the civil power over the military. A plain gentleman in black—sometimes a very plain gentleman—presides over the military force of the Nation, and the thing is symbolic. We think first of peace, we think first of the civilian life, we think first of industry; we want the men who are going to defend the Nation to be immersed in these pursuits of peace. But we want them to know how, when occasion arises, to rally to the assistance of the professional soldier of the country and show the nations of the world the might of America. Such men will not seek war. Such men will dread it as we all dread it. Such men will know that the happiness of their families and the prosperity of their countrysides and the wealth of their cities and everything upon which their life depends is rooted and grounded in peace, but they will also know that upon occasion infinite sacrifice must be made of life and of wealth and that there are things that are higher than the ordinary occupations of life, namely, all assertions of the ideals of right.

I am not going before audiences like this to go into the details of the programme which has been proposed to the Congress of the United States, because, after all, the details do not make any difference. I believe in one plan; others may think that an equally good plan can be substituted, and I hope my mind is open to be convinced that it can; but what I am convinced of and what we are all working for is that there should be provided, not a great militant force in this country, but a great reserve of adequate and available force which can be called on upon occasion. I have proposed that we should be supplied with at least half a million men accustomed to handle arms and to live in camps; and that is a very small number as compared with the gigantic proportions of modern armies. Therefore, it seems to me that no man can speak of proposals like that as if they pointed in the direction of militarism.

When men talk of the threat of what is proposed, I wonder if they have really stopped to consider what is actually proposed. It is astonishing how many men of straw are set up and gallantly knocked down. It is astonishingly easy to prove that something is wrong which nobody has proposed, and this Nation is not going to be deceived by the fears of gentlemen who are fearful only of the things which they have imagined. We are not going to be stalked and daunted by ghosts and fancies. We are proposing a very business-like thing. I for my part believe that I am proposing a thoroughly business-like thing. For I am proposing something more than what is temporary. It is my conception that as the Government of the United States has done a great deal, though even yet probably not enough, to promote agricultural education in this country, it ought

to do a great deal to promote industrial education in this country, and that along with thoroughgoing industrial and vocational training it is perfectly feasible to instruct the youth of the land in the mechanism and use of arms, in the sanitation of camps, in the more rudimentary principles and practices of modern warfare, and so not to bring about occasions such as we have sometimes brought about, when upon a sudden danger youngsters were summoned by the proclamation of the President out of every community, who came crude and green and raw into the service of their country—infinately willing but also wholly unfitted for the great physical task which was ahead of them. No nation should waste its youth like that. A nation like this should be ashamed to use an inefficient instrument when it can make its instrument efficient for everything that it needs to employ it for, and can do it along with the magnifying and ennobling and quickening of the tasks of peace.

But we have to create the schools and develop the schools to do these things, and we can not at present wait for this slow process. We must go at once to the task of training a very considerable body of men to the use of arms and the life of camps, and we can do so upon one condition, and one condition only. The test, ladies and gentlemen, of what we are proposing is not going to be the action of Congress; it is going to be the response of the country. It is going to be the volunteering of the men to take the training and the willingness of their employers to see to it that no obstacle is put in the way of their volunteering. It will be up to the young men of this country and to the men who employ them; then, and not till then, we shall know how far it is true that America wishes to prepare itself for national defense—not a matter of sentiment, but a matter of hard practice.

Are the men going to come out, and are those who employ them going to facilitate their coming out? I for one believe that they will. There are many selfish influences at work in this country, as in every other; but when it comes to the large view America can produce the substance of patriotism as abundantly as any other country under God's sun. I have no anxiety along those lines, and I have no anxiety along the lines of what Congress is going to do. You elect men to Congress who have opinions, and it is not strange that they should have differing opinions. I am not jealous of debate. If what I propose can not stand debate, then something ought to be substituted for it which can. And I am not afraid that it is going to be all debate. I am not afraid that nothing is going to come out of it. I am not afraid that we shall fail to get out of it the most substantial and satisfactory results. Certainly when I talk a great deal myself I am not going to be jealous of the other man's having a chance to talk

also. We are talking, I take it, in order to get at the very final analysis of the case, the final proof and demonstration of what we ought to do.

My own feeling, ladies and gentlemen, is that it is a pity that this is a campaign year. I hope, with the chairman of the meeting, that the question of national preparation for defense will not by anybody be drawn into campaign uses or partisan aspects. There are many differences between Democrats and Republicans, honest differences of opinion and of conviction, but Democrats do not differ from Republicans upon the question of the Nation's safety, and no man ought to draw this thing into controversy in order to make party or personal profit out of it. I am ready to acknowledge that men on the other side politically are just as deeply and just as intelligently interested in this question as I am, of course, and I shall be ashamed of any friends of mine who may take any different view of it.

I want you to realize just what is happening, not in America but in the rest of the world. It is very hard to describe it briefly. It is very hard to describe it in quiet phrases. The world is on fire, and there is tinder everywhere. The sparks are liable to drop anywhere, and somewhere there may be material which we can not prevent from bursting into flame. The influence of passion is everywhere abroad in the world. It is not strange that men see red in such circumstances. What a year ago was incredible has now happened and the world is so in the throes of this titanic struggle that no part of it is unaffected.

You know what is happening. You know that by a kind of improvidence which should be very uncharacteristic of America we have neglected for several generations to provide the means to carry our own commerce on the seas, and, therefore, being dependent upon other nations for the most part to carry our commerce, we are dependent upon other nations now for the movement of our commerce when other nations are caught in the grip of war. So that every natural impulse of our peaceful life is embarrassed and impeded by the circumstances of the time, and wherever there is contact there is apt to be friction. Wherever the ordinary rules of commerce at sea and of international relationship are thrust aside or ignored, there is danger of the more critical kind of controversy. Where nations are engaged as many nations are now engaged, they are peculiarly likely to be stubbornly steadfast in the pursuit of the purpose which is the main purpose of the moment; and so, while we move among friends, we move among friends who are preoccupied, preoccupied with an exigent matter which is foreign to our own life, foreign to our own policy, but which nevertheless inevitably affects our own life and our own policy. While a year ago it seemed impossible that a struggle upon so great a scale should last a whole twelvemonth, it has now lasted a

year and a half and the end is not yet, and all the time things have grown more and more difficult to handle.

It fills me with a very strange feeling sometimes, my fellow citizens, when it seems to be implied that I am not the friend of peace. If these gentlemen could have sat with me reading the dispatches and handling the questions which arise every hour of the twenty-four, they would have known how infinitely difficult it had been to maintain the peace and they would have believed that I was the friend of peace. But I also know the difficulties, the real dangers, dangers not about things that I can handle, but about things that the other parties handle and I can not control.

It amazes me to hear men speak as if America stood alone in the world and could follow her own life as she pleased. We are in the midst of a world that we did not make and can not alter; its atmospheric and physical conditions are the conditions of our own life also, and therefore, as your responsible servant, I must tell you that the dangers are infinite and constant. I should feel that I was guilty of an unpardonable omission if I did not go out and tell my fellow countrymen that new circumstances have arisen which make it absolutely necessary that this country should prepare herself, not for war, not for anything that smacks in the least of aggression, but for adequate national defense.

So I have come out from the seclusion of Washington and have broken what I hope you consider a good rule, namely, that a man ought steadfastly to attend to business. Counsel has become the most necessary business of the hour. The most necessary thing to do now is to make America acquainted with her own situation in the world and acquainted with the fact that not all the processes of conduct are within her own control; that, on the contrary, they are daily and hourly affected by things which she can not govern or direct. Appeals of this sort are apt to be only too adequate. I am not afraid that America will do nothing. I am only desirous that she should be very coolly considerate of what she does. One cool judgment is worth a thousand hasty counsels. The thing to do is to supply light and not heat. There ought, if there is any heat at all, to be that warmth of the heart which makes every man thrust aside his own personal feelings, his own personal interests, and take thought of the welfare and benefit of others.

We seem sometimes, ladies and gentlemen, to be very careless in our use of words, and yet there are some words about which we are very careful. We call every sort of man who has displayed unusual powers "great"; we call some bad men "great"; but we reserve the word "honorable" for those who are great, but spend their greatness upon others rather than upon themselves. You erect statues to men who have made great sacrifices or to men who have given great

beneficences. You do not erect statues to men who have served only themselves. There is a patriciate even in democratic America. Our peers are the men who have spent their great energies outside the narrow circle of their own self-interest, and who have seen to it that great largess of intellectual effort was given for the benefit of the communities in which they lived. These are the men we honor; these are the men who are the characteristic Americans. America was born into the world to do mankind service, and no man is a true American in whom the desire to do mankind service does not take precedence over the desire to serve himself. If I believed that the might of America was a threat to any free man in the world, I would wish America to be weak, but I believe the might of America is the might of righteous purpose and of a sincere love for the freedom of mankind.

For my own part I am very much stirred by every sight that I get of the flag of the United States. I did not use to have the sentiment as poignantly as I have it now, but if you stood in my place, ladies and gentlemen, and felt that in some peculiar and unusual degree the honor of that flag was entrusted to your keeping, how would you feel? Would you not feel that you were a sort of trustee for the ideals of America? Would you not feel that you ought to go out and seek counsel of your fellow citizens as to what they thought America to be and what they thought you ought to do honorably and perfectly to represent America? Would you not feel that if anything were incumbent upon you more than another it was to understand what that flag stands for? That flag was originally stained in very precious blood, blood spilt, not for any dynasty, not for any small controversies over national advantage, but in order that a little body of three million men in America might make sure that no man was their master; and as this Nation has accumulated in population and in power, as the tread of it has shaken every foot of this great continent, as we have built up great wealth and majestic cities and made fertile farms to bloom from one side of it to the other, there have been built up men who were calling constantly upon their public representatives to be trustees of that original conception.

America can not afford to be weak, and she can not afford to use her strength for anything which does not honor the Stars and Stripes. What I want you to do is this: I do not want you merely to listen to speeches. I want you to make yourselves vocal. I want you to let everybody who comes within earshot of it know that you are a partisan for the adequate preparation of the United States for national defense. I have come to ask you not merely to go home and say, "The President seems to be a good fellow and to mean what he says"; I want you to go home determined that within the whole circle of

your influence the President, not as a partisan, but as the representative of the national honor, shall be backed up by the whole force that is in the Nation.

I know that that appeal is not in vain, for I know what deep fountains of sentiment well up in America. I know that the surface of our life sometimes seems sordid. I know that the men who do most of the talking do not always hear the undertones of our life; but I know that the men who go in and out on the farm, the men who go in and out at the factory door, the men who go in and out at the offices, the men who go abroad upon ships, the men who travel up and down the country to quicken the courses of our commerce, underneath the surface of every one of these men there is the beating of a heart which is willing to make a profound sacrifice for the country that we all love; and those hearts are now going to be guided by very hard-headed minds, by minds that know how to think and plan and insist; and out of what seems an intricate debate there is going to come a great plan for national defence of which we will all be proud and which will lead us to forget partisan differences in one great enthusiasm for the United States of America.

[Militarism in America; Delivered to an Overflow Meeting in Soldiers' Memorial Hall, Pittsburgh, Pa., Jan. 29, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I feel that I was lured here under false pretenses. I was told that I was to address an audience of women, and the men, as usual, have been usurpers and have come in. When I reflected what I should say to a body of women about military preparation for national defense, it seemed to me that there was no excuse for making any difference between what I should say to them and what I should say to any other body of citizens of the United States, unless, indeed, there was this reason for a difference: There is a sense in which the women of the country live closer to the life of it than the men. The preoccupations of business for the man who has to work for his daily bread and for the bread of those whom he loves and who are dependent on him are such that sometimes the material side of life seems to him the only real side of life. I find that very few men stop to think of the life of the family, of the life of the community, of the life of the State and the Nation; their absorption is necessarily so great in the daily task that the spiritual needs do not often or very closely touch them, and it has seemed to me that in the home, in the contact with the children, in the anxieties for the morals and the daily conduct of those whom they love, the women perhaps feel the pulse of the country more than the men do. And it is in order that we may preserve the thoughtful ideals of America that it is necessary we should make preparation for national defense.

The old cry for the defense of your hearth and home does not seem to me a very handsome appeal. It is easy to love what is your own, and it is easy to fight for what is your own. No man with a drop of manliness in him would do anything else. The thing that is hard is to fight for the things that do not immediately touch us in order that others may live whom we do not love and do not even know, in order that the great tides of the national life might flow free and unobstructed, in order that the great ideals and purposes and longings of the people we never see might be realized. That is the life of a nation. No man ever saw the people of whom he forms a part. No man ever saw a government. I live in the midst of the Government of the United States, but I never saw the Government of the United States. Its personnel extends through all the nations and across the seas and into every corner of the world; in the presence of the representatives of the United States in foreign capitals, and in foreign centers of commerce. I never saw the Government of the United States. It is an ideal, and I must share its spirit by the use of my imagination. I must make myself a part of it with thoughts that are national—the things that move great bodies of men to devote themselves to great tasks and even great adventures.

I suppose that as the women of the country meditate upon the life that surges around them there must very often come into their hearts something of the profound feeling that pulses through great national existence. I do not believe that the women of this country are interested in national defense merely in order that they may be physically protected. If that was all we cared for, there would not be any spirit of America. The flag would not stand for anything if it were merely a roof over my head or a bulwark against an attack upon me. The flag stands for something for which we are all trustees, the great part that America is to play in the world.

And what is the part that America is to play in the world? America stands, first of all, for the right of men to determine whom they will obey and whom they will serve; for the right of political freedom and a people's sovereignty; and anybody who interferes with those conceptions by touching the affairs of America makes it necessary that America should assert her rights. America has not only to assert her right to her own life within her own borders, she has also to assert her right to the equal and just treatment of her citizens wherever they go. And she has something even more than that to insist upon, because she made up her mind long ago that she was going to stand up, so far as this Western Hemisphere is concerned, for the right of peoples to choose their own politics without foreign influence or interference. So she has a gigantic task which she can not shirk without disgrace.

In ordinary circumstances it has not been necessary for America to think of force, because everybody knows that there is latent in her as much force as resides anywhere in the world. This great body of 100,000,000 people has an average of intelligence and resourcefulness probably unprecedented in the history of the world. Nobody doubts that, given time enough, we can assert any amount of force that may be necessary; but when the world is on fire how much time can you afford to take to be ready? When you know that there are combustible materials in the life of the world and in your own national life, and that the sky is full of floating sparks from a great conflagration, are you going to sit down and say it will be time when the fire begins to do something about it? I do not believe that the fire is going to begin, but I would be surer of it if we were ready for the fire. And I want to come as your responsible servant and tell you this, that we do not control the fire. We are under the influences of it, but we are not at the sources of it. We are where it at any time may affect us, and yet we can not govern its spread and progress. If it once touches us, it may touch the very sources of our life, for it may touch the very things we stand for, and we might for a little while be unable successfully to vindicate and defend them. I am not come here to tell you of any immediate threat of a definite danger, because by very great patience, by making our position perfectly clear, and then steadfastly maintaining the same attitude throughout great controversies, we have so far held difficulty at arm's length; but I want you to realize the task you have imposed upon your Government.

There are two things which practically everybody who comes to the Executive Office in Washington tells me. They tell me, "The people are counting upon you to keep us out of this war." And in the next breath, what do they tell me, "The people are equally counting upon you to maintain the honor of the United States." Have you reflected that a time might come when I could not do both? And have you made yourselves ready to stand behind your Government for the maintenance of the honor of your country, as well as for the maintenance of the peace of the country? If I am to maintain the honor of the United States and it should be necessary to exert the force of the United States in order to do it, have you made the force ready? You know that you have not, and the very fact that the force is not ready may make the task you have set for me all the more delicate and all the more difficult. I have come away from Washington to remind you of your part in this great business. There is no part that belongs to me that I wish to shirk, but I wish you to bear the part that belongs to you. I want every man and woman of you to stand behind me in pressing a reasonable plan for national defense.

The only possible reasonable plan is an American plan. The American plan is not a great military establishment. The American plan is a great body of citizens who are ready to rally to the national defense and adequately serve the national defense when it is necessary to do so. Just as the heart of our politics lies in the breast of the average man, so the strength of the Nation rests in the capacity of the individual man. He ought to know how modern arms are made and how they ought to be handled; he ought to know the rudimentary principles of camp sanitation; he ought to know the elements of military discipline, so that when he goes to the defense of his Nation he will not be a raw recruit, but a man who knows what is expected of him and needs only the guidance of competent officers to do it.

You know how every constitution in the United States—the Constitution of the Nation and the constitutions of the States—lays it down as a principle that every man in America has the right to carry arms. He has not the right to conceal them, because you would converse with a man with a gun over his shoulder perhaps in a different tone of voice than if he had the gun concealed. Concealed arms are not the constitutional privilege of anybody, but obviously arms are the constitutional privilege of everybody in the United States, for the very conception of our politics is that the country is going to be taken care of by the men who live in it, and that they are not going to depute the task. Every audience still, after the passage of more than a hundred years, is stirred by the stories of the embattled farmers at Lexington, the men who had arms, who seized them and came forth in order to assert the independence and political freedom of themselves and their enterprise. That is the ideal picture of America, the rising of the Nation. But do we want the Nation to rise unschooled, inexperienced, ineffective, and furnish targets for powder and shot before they realize how to defend themselves at all?

I am not going to expound to you a particular plan for training a great citizen reserve, because the detail of the plan is not the important part of it. The important part is that it is imperatively necessary that we should have a plan, have it early, and put it into execution at the earliest possible moment, by which we will have a great reserve of men sufficiently trained for any kind of military service and ready when they are called on. These are the things that we are going to have. I say that because I believe it to be an actual necessity; I say it because I am confident that the men in Congress know a national necessity when they see it. I know there will be a great deal of debate and many differences of opinion—many honest and intelligent differences of opinion—as to how the thing ought to be done, but there is not going to be any difference of purpose as to what ought to be done.

Of course, there are some gentlemen who allow themselves to be deceived by very handsome sentiments. If a man is so in love with peace that he can not imagine any kind of danger, I almost envy him the trance he is in, and so long as he is in the trance he is not going to do anything but enjoy the vision. But such men are not many. America is a hard-headed nation, and America generally wants to see the facts as they come before they get here. And the facts of the world are such that it is my duty to counsel my fellow citizens that preparation for national defense can not any longer be postponed.

I am not one of those who believe that a great standing army is the means of maintaining peace, because if you build up a great profession those who form parts of it want to exercise their professions, and I can not blame them for it. I should myself hate to be ready to do an expert thing and never be permitted to do it. But, for my part, I am sure we have never encouraged in America the spirit of militarism, and we shall never have militarism in the United States. What I am particularly interested in is that my fellow citizens should make a distinction between militarism in any form and the things that are now being proposed to the Congress of the United States. If men are engaged nine months out of the twelve in the pursuits of commerce and manufacture and agriculture and are in camp to take a little training only two or three months in the year, do you suppose they are going to have the spirit of the three months and not the spirit of the nine months? Do you not see that they are immersed in the civil and economic life of the Nation? They know what war means; they know what it will cost them and those dependent on them. There will be bred in them no spirit of military ardor; there will merely be bred in them a sober spirit of readiness to defend peace and fend off war, to make good the ideals of America and the performance of all the great tasks which she has set herself. And there will also be bred in them the spirit of obedience, the thought of the Nation, the consciousness of having some kind of personal connection with the great body politic which they profess as citizens to serve; and there will be in them great fountains of sober sentiment which will affect their neighbors as well as themselves, and Americans will be a little less careless of the general interest of the Nation, a little less thoughtful of their own peculiar and selfish interest, and something of the old spirit of '76, which was not the spirit of aggression, but the spirit of love of country and pure and undefiled patriotism, will grow stronger and stronger in this country that we love.

And so, my fellow citizens, what I am pleading for with the utmost confidence is the revival of that great spirit of patriotism for which a hall like this stands as a symbol. I was saying the other night that it was a very interesting circumstance that we never hang a lad's yard-

stick up over the mantelpiece, but that we do hang his musket up when he is gone. Not because the musket stands for a finer thing than the yardstick in itself—it is a brutal thing to kill—but that the musket stood for the risk of life, for something greater than the lad's own self. It stood for infinite sacrifice to the point of death, and it is for that sentiment of willingness to die for something greater than ourselves that we hang the musket up over the mantelpiece, and in doing so make a sacred record of the high service of the family from which it sprang.

It is for that reason that we erect buildings like this; it is for that reason that we make monuments to those who serve us; and when we summon the young men of this country to volunteer for brief training every year in order that they may be a source of security to the Nation and its ideals, I know that the response will bring something more than a few thousand youngsters in the field; it will bring the spirit of America back to self-consciousness, and we shall again know what it is to belong to a country that throbs with a spirit of life that will arrest the attention of mankind.

[Public Policy under the Circumstances of the Times, Delivered at Cleveland, Ohio, Jan. 29, 1916.]

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS: I esteem it a real privilege to be in Cleveland again and to address you upon the serious questions of public policy which now confronts us. I have not given myself this sort of pleasure very often since I have been President, for I hope that you have observed what my conception of the office of President is. I do not believe that, ordinarily speaking, it is a speech-making office. I have found the exactions of it such that it was absolutely necessary for me to remain constantly in touch with the daily changes of public business, and you so arranged it that I should be President at a time when there was a great deal of public business to remain in touch with. But the times are such, gentlemen, that it is necessary that we should take common counsel together regarding them.

I suppose that this country has never found itself before in so singular a position. The present situation of the world would, only a twelvemonth ago, even after the European war had started, have seemed incredible, and yet now the things that no man anticipated have happened. The titanic struggle continues. The difficulties of the world's affairs accumulate. It was, of course, evident that this was taking place long before the present session of Congress assembled, but only since the Congress assembled has it been possible to consider what we ought to do in the new circumstances of the times. Congress can not know what to do unless the Nation knows what to do, and it seemed to me not only my privilege but my duty to go out

and inform my fellow countrymen just what I understood the present situation to be.

What are the elements of the case? In the first place, and most obviously, two-thirds of the world are at war. It is not merely a European struggle; nations in the Orient have become involved, as well as nations in the west, and everywhere there seems to be creeping even upon the nations disengaged the spirit and the threat of war. All the world outside of America is on fire.

Do you wonder that men's imaginations take color from the situation? Do you wonder that there is a great reaction against war? Do you wonder that the passion for peace grows stronger as the spectacle grows more tremendous and more overwhelming? Do you wonder, on the other hand, that men's sympathies become deeply engaged on the one side or the other? For no small things are happening. This is a struggle which will determine the history of the world, I dare say, for more than a century to come. The world will never be the same again after this war is over. The change may be for weal or it may be for woe, but it will be fundamental and tremendous.

And in the meantime we, the people of the United States, are the one great disengaged power, the one neutral power, finding it exceedingly difficult to be neutral, because, like men everywhere else, we are human; we have the deep passions of mankind in us; we have sympathies that are as easily stirred up as the sympathies of any other people; we have interests which we see being drawn slowly into the maelstrom of this tremendous upheaval. It is very difficult for us to hold off and look with cool judgment upon such stupendous matters.

And yet we have held off. It has not been easy for the Government at Washington to avoid the entanglements which seemed to beset it on every side. It has needed a great deal of watchfulness and an unremitting patience to do so, but all the while no American could fail to be aware that America did not wish to become engaged, that she wished to hold apart; not because she did not perceive the issues of the struggle, but because she thought her duties to be the duties of peace and of separate action. And all the while the nations themselves that were engaged seemed to be looking to us for some sort of action, not hostile in character but sympathetic in character. Hardly a single thing has occurred in Europe which has in any degree shocked the sensibilities of mankind that the Government of the United States has not been called upon by the one side or the other to protest and intervene with its moral influence, if not with its physical force. It is as if we were the great audience before whom this stupendous drama is being played out, and we are asked to comment upon the turns and crises of the plot. And not only are we the audience, and challenged to be the umpire so far as the opinion of the world is concerned, but

all the while our own life touches these matters at many points of vital contact.

The United States is trying to keep up the processes of peaceful commerce while all the world is at war and while all the world is in need of the essential things which the United States produces, and yet by an oversight for which it is difficult to forgive ourselves we did not provide ourselves when there was proper peace and opportunity with a mercantile marine, by means of which we could carry the commerce of the world without the interference of the motives of other nations which might be engaged in controversy not our own; and so the carrying trade of the world is for the most part in the hands of the nations now embroiled in this great struggle. Americans have gone to all quarters of the world, Americans are serving the business of the world in every part of it, and every one of these men when his affairs touch the regions that are on fire is our ward, and we must see to his rights and that they are respected. Do you not see how all the sensitive places of our life touch these great disturbances?

Now in the midst of all this, what is it that we are called on to do as a nation? I suppose that from the first America has had one peculiar and particular mission in the world. Other nations have grown rich, my fellow citizens, other nations have been as powerful as we in material resources in comparison with the other nations of the world, other nations have built up empires and exercised dominion; we are not peculiar in any of these things, but we are peculiar in this, that from the first we have dedicated our force to the service of justice and righteousness and peace. We have said, "Our chief interest is not in the rights of property but in the rights of men; our chief interest is in the spirits of men that they might be free, that they might enjoy their lives unmolested so long as they observed the just rules of the game, that they might deal with their fellow-men with their heads erect, the subjects and servants of no man; the servants only of the principles upon which their lives rested." And America has done more than care for her own people and think of her own fortunes in these great matters. She has said ever since the time of President Monroe that she was the champion of the freedom and the separate sovereignty of peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere. She is trustee for these ideals and she is pledged, deeply and permanently pledged, to keep these momentous promises.

She not only, therefore, must play her part in keeping this conflagration from spreading to the people of the United States; she must also keep this conflagration from spreading on this side of the sea. These are matters in which our very life and our whole pride are embedded and rooted, and we can never draw back from them. And I, my fellow citizens, because of the extraordinary office with which you have

intrusted me, must, whether I will or not, be your responsible spokesman in these great matters. It is my duty, therefore, when impressions are deeply borne in upon me with regard to the national welfare to speak to you with the utmost frankness about them, and that is the errand upon which I have come away from Washington.

For my own part, I am sorry that these things fall within the year of a national political campaign. They ought to have nothing whatever to do with politics. The man who brings partisan feeling into these matters and seeks partisan advantage by means of them is unworthy of your confidence. I am sorry that upon the eve of a campaign we should be obliged to discuss these things, for fear they might run over into the campaign and seem to constitute a part of it. Let us forget that this is a year of national elections. That is neither here nor there. The thing to do now is for all men of all parties to think along the same lines and do the same thing and forget every difference that may have divided them.

And what ought they to do? In the first place, they ought to tell the truth. There have been some extraordinary exaggerations both of the military weakness and the military strength of this country. Some men tell you that we have no means of defense and others tell you that we have sufficient means of defense, and neither statement is true. Take, for example, the matter of our coast defenses. It is obvious to every man that they are of the most vital importance to the country. Such coast defenses as we have are strong and admirable, but we have not got coast defenses in enough places. Their quality is admirable, but their quantity is insufficient. The military authorities of this country have not been negligent; they have sought adequate appropriations from Congress, and in most instances have obtained them, so far as we saw the work in hand that it was necessary to do, and the work that they have done in the use of these appropriations has been admirable and skillful work. Do not let anybody deceive you into supposing that the Army of the United States, so far as it has had opportunity, is in any degree unworthy of your confidence.

And the Navy of the United States. You have been told that it is the second in strength in the world. I am sorry to say that experts do not agree with those who tell you that. Reckoning by its actual strength, I believe it to be one of the most efficient navies in the world, but in strength it ranks fourth, not second. You must reckon with the fact that it is necessary that that should be our first arm of defense, and you ought to insist that everything should be done that it is possible for us to do to bring the Navy up to an adequate standard of strength and efficiency.

Where we are chiefly lacking in preparation is on land and in the number of men who are ready to fight. Not the number of fighting

men, but the number of men who are ready to fight. Some men are born troublesome, some men have trouble thrust upon them, and other men acquire trouble. I think I belong to the second class. But the characteristic desire of America is not that she should have a great body of men whose chief business is to fight, but a great body of men who know how to fight and are ready to fight when anything that is dear to the Nation is threatened. You might have what we have, millions of men who had never handled arms of war, who are mere material for shot and powder if you put them in the field, and America would be ashamed of the inefficiency of calling such men to defend the Nation. What we want is to associate in training with the Army of the United States men who will volunteer for a sufficient length of time every year to get a rudimentary acquaintance with arms, a rudimentary skill in handling them, a rudimentary acquaintance with camp life, a rudimentary acquaintance with military drill and discipline; and we ought to see to it that we have men of that sort in sufficient number to constitute an initial army when we need an army for the defense of the country.

I have heard it stated that there are probably several million men in this country who have received a sufficient amount of military drill either here or in the countries in which they were born and from which they have come to us. Perhaps there are, nobody knows, because there is no means of counting them; but if there are so many, they are not obliged to come at our call; we do not know who they are. That is not military preparation. Military preparation consists in the existence of such a body of men known to the Federal authorities, organized provisionally by the Federal authorities, and subject by their own choice and will to the immediate call of the Federal authorities.

We have no such body of men in the United States except the National Guard. Now, I have a very great respect for the National Guard. I have been associated with one section of that guard in one of the great States of the Union, and I know the character of the officers and the quality of the men, and I would trust them unhesitatingly both for skill and for efficiency, but the whole National Guard of the United States fall short of 130,000 men. It is characterized by a very great variety of discipline and efficiency as between State and State, and it is by the Constitution itself put under authority of more than two score State executives. The President of the United States has not the right to call on these men except in the case of actual invasion, and, therefore, no matter how skillful they are, no matter how ready they are, they are not the instruments for immediate National use. I believe that the Congress of the United States ought to do, and that it will do, a great deal more for the National Guard than it ever has done, and everything ought to be done to make it a model military arm.

But that is not the arm that we are immediately interested in. We are interested in making certain that there are men all over the United States prepared, equipped, and ready to go out at the call of the National Government upon the shortest possible notice. You will ask me, "Why do you say the shortest possible notice?" Because, gentlemen, let me tell you very solemnly you can not afford to postpone this thing. I do not know what a single day may bring forth. I do not wish to leave you with the impression that I am thinking of some particular danger; I merely want to leave you with this solemn impression, that I know that we are daily treading amidst the most intricate dangers, and that the dangers that we are treading amongst are not of our making and are not under our control, and that no man in the United States knows what a single week or a single day or a single hour may bring forth. These are solemn things to say to you but I would be unworthy of my office if I did not come out and tell you with absolute frankness just exactly what I understand the situation to be.

I do not wish to hurry the Congress of the United States. These things are too important to be put through without very thorough sifting and debate and I am not in the least jealous of any of the searching processes of discussion. That is what free people are for, to understand what they are about and to do what they wish to do only if they understand what they are about. But it is impossible to discuss the details of plans in great bodies, unorganized bodies, of men like this audience, for example. All that I can do in this presence is to tell you what I know of the necessities of the case, and to ask you to stand back of the executive authorities of the United States in urging upon those who make our laws as early and effective action as possible.

America is not afraid of anybody. I know that I express your feeling and the feeling of all our fellow citizens when I say that the only thing I am afraid of is not being ready to perform my duty. I am afraid of the danger of shame; I am afraid of the danger of inadequacy; I am afraid of the danger of not being able to express the great character of this country with tremendous might and effectiveness whenever we are called upon to act in the field of the world's affairs.

For it is character we are going to express, not power merely. The United States is not in love with the aggressive use of power. It despises the aggressive use of power. There is not a foot of territory belonging to any other Nation which this Nation covets or desires. There is not a privilege which we ourselves enjoy that we would dream of denying any other nation in the world. If there is one thing that the American people love and believe in more than another it is peace and all the handsome things that belong to peace. I hope that you will bear me out in saying that I have proved that I am a partisan of peace.

I would be ashamed to be belligerent and impatient when the fortunes of my whole country and the happiness of all my fellow countrymen were involved. But I know that peace is not always within the choice of the Nation, and I want to remind you, and remind you very solemnly, of the double obligation you have laid upon me. I know you have laid it upon me because I am constantly reminded of it in conversation, by letter, in editorial, by means of every voice that comes to me out of the body of the Nation. You have laid upon me this double obligation: "We are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep us out of this war, but we are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep the honor of the Nation unstained."

Do you not see that a time may come when it is impossible to do both of these things? Do you not see that if I am to guard the honor of the Nation, I am not protecting it against itself, for we are not going to do anything to stain the honor of our own country. I am protecting it against things that I cannot control, the action of others. And where the action of others may bring us I cannot foretell. You may count upon my heart and resolution to keep you out of the war, but you must be ready if it is necessary that I should maintain your honor. That is the only thing a real man loves about himself. Some men who are not real men love other things about themselves, but the real man believes that his honor is dearer than his life; and a nation is merely all of us put together, and the Nation's honor is dearer than the Nation's comfort and the Nation's peace and the Nation's life itself. So that we must know what we have thrown into the balance; we must know the infinite issues which are impending every day of the year, and when we go to bed at night and when we rise in the morning, and at every interval of the rush of business, we must remind ourselves that we are part of a great body politic in which are vested some of the highest hopes of the human race.

Why is it that all nations turn to us with the instinctive feeling that if anything touches humanity it touches us? Because it knows that ever since we were born as a Nation we have undertaken to be the champions of humanity and of the rights of men. Without that ideal there would be nothing that would distinguish America from her predecessors in the history of nations. Why is it that men who loved liberty have crowded to these shores? Why is it that we greet them as they enter the great harbor at New York with that majestic Statue of Liberty holding up a torch whose visionary beams are meant to spread abroad over the waters of the world, and to say to all men, "Come to America where mankind is free and where we love all the works of righteousness and of peace."

[Counselling Unity, Neutrality and Peace; Delivered at the Auditorium, Milwaukee, Wis., Jan. 31, 1916.]

Mr. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS: I need not inquire whether the citizens of Milwaukee and Wisconsin are interested in the subject of my errand. The presence of this great body in this vast hall sufficiently attests your interest, but I want at the outset to remove a misapprehension that I fear may exist in your mind. There is no sudden crisis; nothing new has happened; I am not out upon this errand because of any unexpected situation. I have come to confer with you upon a matter upon which it would, in any circumstances, be necessary for us to confer when all the rest of the world is on fire and our own house is not fireproof. Everywhere the atmosphere of the world is thrilling with the passion of a disturbance such as the world has never seen before, and it is wise, in the words just uttered by your chairman, that we should see that our own house is set in order and that everything is done to make certain that we shall not suffer by the general conflagration.

There were some dangers to which this Nation seemed at the outset of the war to be exposed, which, I think I can say with confidence, are now passed and overcome. America has drawn her blood and her strength out of almost all the nations of the world. It is true of a great many of us that there lies deep in our hearts the recollection of an origin which is not American. We are aware that our roots, our traditions, run back into other national soils. There are songs that stir us; there are some far-away historical recollections which engage our affections and stir our memories. We can not forget our forbears; we can not altogether ignore the fact of our essential blood relationship; and at the outset of this war it did look as if there were a division of domestic sentiment which might lead us to some errors of judgment and some errors of action; but I, for one, believe that that danger is passed. I never doubted that the danger was exaggerated, because I had learned long ago, and many of you will corroborate me by your experience, that it is not the men who are doing the talking always who represent the real sentiments of the Nation. I for my part always feel a serene confidence in waiting for the declaration of the principles and sentiments of the men who are not vociferous, do not go about seeking to make trouble, do their own thinking, attend to their own business, and love their own country.

I have at no time supposed that the men whose voices seemed to contain the threat of division amongst us were really uttering the sentiments even of those whom they pretended to represent. I for my part have no jealousy of family sentiment. I have no jealousy of that deep affection which runs back through long lineage. It would be a pity if we forget the fine things that our ancestors have done. But I also know the magic of America; I also know the great principles

which thrill men in the singular body politic to which we belong in the United States. I know the impulses which have drawn men to our shores. They have not come idly; they have not come without conscious purpose to be free; they have not come without voluntary desire to unite themselves with the great nation on this side of the sea; and I know that whenever the test comes every man's heart will be first for America. It was principle and affection and ambition and hope that drew men to these shores, and they are not going to forget the errand upon which they came and allow America, the home of their refuge and hope, to suffer by any forgetfulness on their part. And so the trouble makers have shot their bolt, and it has been ineffectual. Some of them have been vociferous; all of them have been exceedingly irresponsible. Talk was cheap, and that was all it cost them. They did not have to do anything. But you will know without my telling you that the man who for the time being you have charged with the duties of President of the United States must talk with a deep sense of responsibility, and he must remember, above all things else, the fine traditions of his office which some men seem to have forgotten. There is no precedent in American history for any action of aggression on the part of the United States or for any action which might mean that America is seeking to connect herself with the controversies on the other side of the water. Men who seek to provoke us to such action have forgotten the traditions of the United States, but it behooves those with whom you have entrusted office to remember the traditions of the United States and to see to it that the actions of the Government are made to square with those traditions.

But there are other dangers, my fellow citizens, which are not past and which have not been overcome, and they are dangers which we can not control. We can control irresponsible talkers amidst ourselves. All we have got to do is to encourage them to hire a hall and their folly will be abundantly advertised by themselves. But we can not in this simple fashion control the dangers that surround us now and have surrounded us since this titanic struggle on the other side of the water began. I say on the other side of the water; you will ask me, "On the other side of which water," for this great struggle has extended to all quarters of the globe. There is no continent outside, I was about to say, of this Western Hemisphere which is not touched with it, but I recollected as I began the sentence that a part of our own continent was touched with it, because it involves our neighbors to the north in Canada. There is no part of the world, except South America, to which the direct influences of this struggle have not extended, so that now we are completely surrounded by this tremendous disturbance and you must realize what that involves.

Our thoughts are concentrated upon our own affairs and our own

relations to the rest of the world, but the thoughts of the men who are engaged in this struggle are concentrated upon the struggle itself, and there is daily and hourly danger that they will feel themselves constrained to do things which are absolutely inconsistent with the rights of the United States. They are not thinking of us. I am not criticising them for not thinking of us. I dare say if I were in their place neither would I think of us. They believe that they are struggling for the lives and honor of their nations, and that if the United States puts its interests in the path of this great struggle, she ought to know beforehand that there is danger of very serious misunderstanding and difficulty. So that the very uncalculating, unpremeditated, one might almost say accidental, course of affairs may touch us to the quick at any moment, and I want you to realize that, standing in the midst of these difficulties, I feel that I am charged with a double duty of the utmost difficulty. In the first place, I know that you are depending upon me to keep this Nation out of the war. So far I have done so, and I pledge you my word that, God helping me, I will if it is possible. But you have laid another duty upon me. You have bidden me see to it that nothing stains or impairs the honor of the United States, and that is a matter not within my control; that depends upon what others do, not upon what the Government of the United States does. Therefore there may at any moment come a time when I can not preserve both the honor and the peace of the United States. Do not exact of me an impossible and contradictory thing, but stand ready and insistent that everybody who represents you should stand ready to provide the necessary means for maintaining the honor of the United States.

I sometimes think that it is true that no people ever went to war with another people. Governments have gone to war with one another. People, so far as I remember, have not, and this is a government of the people, and this people is not going to choose war. But we are not dealing with people; we are dealing with Governments. We are dealing with Governments now engaged in a great struggle, and therefore we do not know what a day or an hour will bring forth. All that we know is the character of our own duty. We do not want the question of peace and war, or the conduct of war, entrusted too entirely to our Government. We want war, if it must come, to be something that springs out of the sentiments and principles and actions of the people themselves; and it is on that account that I am counseling the Congress of the United States not to take the advice of those who recommend that we should have, and have very soon, a great standing Army, but, on the contrary, to see to it that the citizens of this country are so trained and that the military equipment is so sufficiently provided for them that when they choose they can take up arms and defend themselves.

The Constitution of the United States makes the President the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the Nation, but I do not want a big Army subject to my personal command. If danger comes, I want to turn to you and the rest of my fellow countrymen and say, "Men, are you ready?" and I know what the response will be. I know that there will spring up out of the body of the Nation a great host of free men, and I want those men not to be mere targets for shot and shell. I want them to know something of the arms they have in their hands. I want them to know something about how to guard against the diseases that creep into camps, where men are unaccustomed to live. I want them to know something of what the orders mean that they will be under when they enlist under arms for the Government of the United States. I want them to be men who can comprehend and easily and intelligently step into the duty of national defense. That is the reason that I am urging upon the Congress of the United States at any rate the beginnings of a system by which we may give a very considerable body of our fellow citizens the necessary training.

I have not forgotten the great National Guard of this country, but in this country of one hundred million people there are only 129,000 men in the National Guard; and the National Guard, fine as it is, is not subject to the orders of the President of the United States. It is subject to the orders of the governors of the several States, and the Constitution itself says that the President has no right to withdraw them from their States even, except in the case of actual invasion of the soil of the United States. I want the Congress of the United States to do a great deal for the National Guard, but I do not see how the Congress of the United States can put the National Guard at the disposal of the national authorities. Therefore it seems to me absolutely necessary that in addition to the National Guard there should be a considerable body of men with some training in the military art who will have pledged themselves to come at the call of the Nation.

I have been told by those who have a greater knack at guessing statistics than I have that there are probably several million men in the United States who, either in this country or in other countries from which they have come to the United States, have received training in arms. It may be; I do not know, and I suspect that they do not either, but even if it be true, these men are not subject to the call of the Federal Government. They would have to be found; they would have to be induced to enlist; they would have to be organized; their numbers are indefinite; and they would have to be equipped. Such are not the materials which we need. We want to know who these men are and where they are and to have everything ready for them if they should come to our assistance. For we have now got down, not to

the sentiment of national defense, but to the business of national defense. It is a business proposition and it must be treated as such. And there are abundant precedents for the proposals which have been made to the Congress. Even that arch-Democrat, Thomas Jefferson, believed that there ought to be compulsory military training for the adult men of the Nation, because he believed, as every true believer in democracy believes, that it is upon the voluntary action of the men of a great Nation like this that it must depend for its military force.

There is another misapprehension that I want to remove from your minds: Do not think that I have come to talk to you about these things because I doubt whether they are going to be done or not. I do not doubt it for a moment, but I believe that when great things of this sort are going to be done the people of this country are entitled to know just what is being proposed. As a friend of mine says, I am not arguing with you; I am telling you. I am not trying to convert you to anything, because I know that in your hearts you are converted already, but I want you to know the motives of what is proposed and the character of what is proposed, in order that we should have only one attitude and counsel with regard to this great matter.

It is being very sedulously spread abroad in this country that the impulse back of all this is the desire of men who make the materials of warfare to get money out of the treasury of the United States. I wish the people that say that could see meetings like this. Did you come here for that purpose? Did you come here because you are interested to see some of your fellow citizens make money out of the present situation? Of course you did not. I am ready to admit that probably the equipment of those men whom we are training will have to be bought from somebody, and I know that if the equipment is bought, it will have to be paid for; and I dare say somebody will make some money out of it. It is also true, ladies and gentlemen, that there are men now, a great many men, in the belligerent countries who are growing rich out of the sale of the materials needed by the armies of those countries. If the Government itself does not manufacture everything that an army needs, somebody has got to make money out of it, and I for my part have been urging the Congress of the United States to make the necessary preparations by which the Government can manufacture armor plate and munitions, so that, being in the business itself and having the ability to manufacture all it needs, if it is put upon a business basis, it can at any rate keep the price that it pays within moderate and reasonable limits. The Government of the United States is not going to be imposed upon by anybody, and you may rest assured, therefore, that while I believe you prefer that private capital and private initiative should bestir themselves in these matters, it is also possible, and I assure you that it is most

likely, that the Government of the United States will have adequate means of controlling this matter very thoroughly indeed. There need be no fear on that side. Let nobody suppose that this is a money-making agitation. I would for one be ashamed to be such a dupe as to be engaged in it if it had any suspicion of that about it, but I am not as innocent as I look; and I believe that I can say for my colleagues in Washington that they are just as watchful in such matters as you would desire them to be.

And there is another misapprehension that I do not wish you to entertain. Do not suppose that there is any new or sudden or recent inadequacy on the part of this Government in respect of preparation for national defense. I have heard some gentlemen say that we had no coast defenses worth talking about. Coast defenses are not nowadays advertised, you understand, and they are not visible to the naked eye, so that if you passed them and nothing exploded, you would not know they were there. The coast defenses of the United States, while not numerous enough, are equipped in the most modern and efficient fashion. You are told that there has been some sort of neglect about the navy. There has not been any sort of neglect about the navy. We have been slowly building up a navy which in quality is second to no navy in the world. The only thing it lacks is quantity. In size it is the fourth navy in the world, though I have heard it said by some gentlemen in this very region that it was the second. In fighting force, though not in quality, it is reckoned by experts to be the fourth in rank in the world; and yet when I go on board those ships and see their equipment and talk with their officers I suspect that they could give an account of themselves which would raise them above the fourth class. It reminds me of that very quaint saying of the old darky preacher, "The Lord says unto Moses, come fourth, and he came fifth and lost the race." But I think this navy would not come fourth in the race, but higher.

What we are proposing now is not the sudden creation of a navy, for we have a splendid navy, but the definite working out of a program by which within five years we shall bring the navy to a fighting strength which otherwise might have taken eight or ten years; along exactly the same lines of development that have been followed and followed diligently and intelligently for at least a decade past. There is no sudden panic, there is no sudden change of plan; all that has happened is that we now see that we ought more rapidly and more thoroughly than ever before to do the things which have always been characteristic of America. For she has always been proud of her navy and has always been addicted to the principle that her citizenship must do the fighting on land. We are working out American principle a little faster, because American pulses are beating a little faster,

because the world is in a whirl, because there are incalculable elements of trouble abroad which we cannot control or alter. I would be derelict to the duty which you have laid upon me if I did not tell you that it was absolutely necessary to carry out our principles in this matter now and at once.

And yet all the time, my fellow citizens, I believe that in these things we are merely interpreting the spirit of America. Who shall say what the spirit of America is? I have many times heard orators apostrophize this beautiful flag which is the emblem of the Nation. I have many times heard orators and philosophers speak of the spirit which was resident in America. I have always for my own part felt that it was an act of audacity to attempt to characterize anything of that kind, and when I have been outside of the country in foreign lands and have been asked if this, that, or the other was true of America I have habitually said, "Nothing stated in general terms is true of America, because it is the most variegated and varied and multiform land under the sun." Yet I know that if you turn away from the physical aspects of the country, if you turn away from the variety of the strains of blood that make up our great population, if you turn away from the great variations of occupation and of interest among our fellow citizens, there is a spiritual unity in America. I know that there are some things which stir every heart in America, no matter what the racial derivation or the local environment, and one of the things that stirs every American is the love of individual liberty. We do not stand for occupations. We do not stand for material interests. We do not stand for any narrow conception even of political institutions; but we do stand for this, that we are banded together in America to see to it that no man shall serve any master who is not of his own choosing. And we have been very liberal and generous about this idea. We have seen great peoples, for the most part not of the same blood with ourselves, to the south of us build up policies in which this same idea pulsed and was regnant, this idea of free institutions and individual liberty, and when we have seen hands reached across the water from older political polities to interfere with the development of free institutions on the Western Hemisphere we have said: "No; we are the champions of the freedom of popular sovereignty wherever it displays or exercises itself throughout both Americas." We are the champions of a particular sort of freedom, the sort of freedom which is the only foundation and guarantee of peace.

Peace lies in the hearts of great industrial and agricultural populations, and we have arranged a government on this side of the water by which their preferences and their predilections and their interests are the mainsprings of government itself. And so when we prepare for national defense we prepare for national political integrity; we

prepare to take care of the great ideals which gave birth to this Government; we are going back in spirit and in energy to those great first generations in America, when men banded themselves together, though they were but a handful upon a single coast of the Atlantic, to set up in the world the standards which have ever since floated everywhere that Americans asserted the power of their Government. As I came along the line of the railway to-day, I was touched to observe that everywhere, upon every railway station, upon every house, where a flag could be procured, some temporary standard had been raised from which there floated the stars and stripes. They seemed to have divined the errand upon which I had come, to remind you that we must subordinate every individual interest and every local interest to assert once more, if it should be necessary to assert them, the great principles for which that flag stands.

Do not deceive yourselves, ladies and gentlemen, as to where the colors of that flag came from. Those lines of red are lines of blood, nobly and unselfishly shed by men who loved the liberty of their fellow men more than they loved their own lives and fortunes. God forbid that we should have to use the blood of America to freshen the color of that flag; but if it should ever be necessary again to assert the majesty and integrity of those ancient and honorable principles, that flag will be colored once more, and in being colored will be glorified and purified.

[America's Task of Preserving the Equilibrium in the World-Wide Struggle, Delivered at the Auditorium, Chicago, Ill., Jan. 31, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS: You put me under a great obligation to you by the generosity of your reception, and I am quite aware that it is largely because you know how desirous I am to speak to you with the utmost frankness upon some of the most essential issues of our national life. The Constitution of the United States explicitly lays upon the President the duty of reporting at the beginning of each annual session of Congress to the representatives of the people concerning the state of the Union, and it seems to me that it is a very natural inference from that command that the President should from time to time, when unusual circumstances arise, make his report, so far as it is possible for him to do so, directly to the people themselves. It is with that conception in view that I have taken the liberty of coming to you to-night. I have not permitted myself the privilege of leaving my duties at Washington very often, because they have been very exacting and very anxious duties, and there is a very clear sense in which it is my duty to be constantly there and constantly watchful of the changing circumstances of the day; but I thought you would feel me justified in the unusual circum-

stances of the time if I left my duties there for a little while and came to explain a few matters to you.

A year ago, though the war in Europe had then been six months in progress, I take it it would have seemed incredible to all of us that the storm should continue to gather in intensity instead of spending its force. I suppose that twelve months ago no one could have predicted the extraordinary way in which the violence of the struggle has increased from month to month; and the difficulties involved by reason of that war have also increased beyond all calculation. A year ago it did seem as if America might rest secure without very great anxiety and take it for granted that she would not be drawn into this terrible maelstrom, but those first six months was merely the beginning of the struggle. Another year has been added, and now no man can confidently say whether the United States will be drawn into the struggle or not. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that we should take counsel together as to what it is necessary that we should do. The circumstances of the day are so extraordinary that perhaps it is not prudent for a man upon whom the responsibility of affairs is laid to know too particularly the details of what is happening. The trouble with a great many of our fellow citizens is that they have let their imaginations become so engaged in this terrible affair that they cannot look upon it as those should who wish to keep a cool head and a detached judgment. So many men on this side of the water are seeing red that we seem to see in their thoughts the reflection of the blood that is being spent so copiously on the other side of the sea. It is not wise for us to let our thoughts become so deeply involved that we cannot think separately and must think with a sort of personal immersion in this great struggle.

I must admit to you very frankly that I have been careful to refrain from reading the details in the newspaper reports. I wish to see the thing and realize it only in its large aspects and to keep my thoughts concentrated on America, her duty, her circumstances, her tasks. And her tasks have been very difficult. They have not been merely negative. Have you not realized how all the world seems to have been constantly conscious from the beginning of this struggle that America was, so to say, the only audience before whom this terrible plot was being worked out; how everybody engaged in the struggle has seemed to turn to America for moral judgments concerning it; how each side in the titanic struggle has appealed to us to adjudge their enemies in the wrong; how there has been no tragical turn in the course of events that America has not been called on for some sort of protest or expression of opinion? And so those of us who are charged with the responsibility of affairs have realized very intensely that there

was a certain sense in which America was looked to to keep even the balance of the whole world's thought.

And America was called upon to do something very much more than that, even; profoundly difficult, if not impossible, though that be, she was called upon to assert in times of war the standards of times of peace. There is an old saying that the laws are silent in the presence of war. Alas, yes; not only the civil laws of individual nations but also apparently the law that governs the relation of nations with one another must at times fall silent and look on in dumb impotency. And yet it has been assumed throughout this struggle that the great principles of international law and of international comity had not been suspended, and the United States, as the greatest and most powerful of the disengaged nations, has been looked to to hold high the standards which should govern the relationship of nations to each other.

I know that on the other side of the water there has been a great deal of cruel misjudgment with regard to the reasons why America has remained neutral. Those who look at us at a distance, my fellow citizens, do not feel the strong impulses of ideal principle that are in us. They do not feel the conviction of America, that her mission is a mission of peace, and that righteousness can be maintained as a standard in the midst of arms. They do not realize that back of all our energy by which we have built up great material wealth and created great material power we are a body of idealists, much more ready to lay down our lives for a thought than for a dollar. They suppose, some of them, that we are holding off because we can make money while others are dying, the most cruel misunderstanding that any nation has ever had to face; so wrong that it seems almost useless to try to correct it, because it shows that the very fundamentals of our life are not comprehended and understood.

I need not tell you, my fellow citizens, that we have not held off from this struggle from motives of self-interest, unless it be considered self-interest to maintain our position as the trustees of the moral judgment of the world. We have believed, and I believe, that we can serve even the nations at war better by remaining at peace and holding off from this contest than we could possibly serve them in any other way. Your interest, your sympathy, your affections may be engaged on the one side or the other, but no matter which side they are engaged on it is your duty even to your affections in this great affair to stand off and not let this Nation be drawn into the war. Somebody must keep the great stable foundations of the life of nations untouched and undisturbed. Somebody must keep the great economic processes of the world of business alive. Somebody must see to it that we stand ready to repair the enormous damage and the incalcula-

ble losses which will ensue from this war, and which it is hardly credible could be repaired if every great nation in the world were drawn into the contest. Do you realize how nearly it has come about that every great nation in the world has been drawn in? The flame has touched even our own continent by drawing in our Canadian neighbors to the north of us, and, except for the South American Continent, there is not one continent upon the whole surface of the world to which this flame has not spread; and when I see some of my fellow citizens spread tinder where the sparks are falling, I wonder what their ideal of Americanism is.

I dare say you realize, therefore, the solemnity of the feeling with which I come to audiences of my fellow citizens at this time. I can not indulge the reckless pleasure of expressing my own private opinions and prejudices. I speak as the trustee of the Nation, called upon to speak its sober judgments and not its individual opinions; and it is with the feeling of this responsibility upon me that I have come to you to-night and have approached the other audiences that I have had the privilege of addressing upon this journey. Do you realize the peculiar difficulty of the situation in which your Executive is placed? You have laid upon me, not by implication, but explicitly—it has come to me by means of every voice that has been vocal in the Nation—you have laid upon me the double obligation of maintaining the honor of the United States and of maintaining the peace of the United States. Is it not conceivable that the two might become incompatible? Is it not conceivable that, however great our passion for peace, we would have to subordinate it to our passion for what is right? Is it not possible that in maintaining the integrity of the character of the United States it may become necessary to see that no man does that integrity too great violence?

It is a very terrible thing, ladies and gentlemen, to have the honor of the United States intrusted to your keeping. It is a great honor, that honor of the United States! In it runs the blood of generations of men who have built up ideals and institutions on this side of the water intended to regenerate mankind, and any man who does violence to right, any nation that does violence to the principles of just international understandings, is doing violence to the ideals of the United States. We observe the technical limits; we assert these rights only when our own citizens are directly affected, but you know that our feeling is just the same whether the rights of those individual citizens are affected or not, and that we feel all the concern of those who have built up things so great that they dare not let them be torn down or touched with profane hands.

Look at the task that is assigned to the United States, to assert the principles of law in a world in which the principles of law have broken

down—not the technical principles of law, but the essential principles of right dealing and humanity as between nation and nation. Law is a very complicated term. It includes a great many things that do not engage our affections, but at the basis of the things that we are now dealing with lie the deepest affections of the human heart, the love of life, the love of righteousness, the love of fair dealing, the love of those things that are just and of good report. The things that are rooted in our very spirit are the stuff of the law that I am talking about now.

We may have to assert these principles of right and of humanity at any time. What means are available? What force is at the disposal of the United States to assert these things? The force of opinion? Opinion, I am sorry to say, my fellow citizens, did not bring this war on, and I am afraid that opinion can not stay its progress. This war was brought on by rulers, not by the people; and I thank God that there is no man in America who has the authority to bring war on without the consent of the people. No man for many a year yet can trace the real sources of this war, but this thing we know, that opinion did not bring it on and that the force of opinion, at any rate the force of American opinion, is not going to stop it.

I admire the hopeful confidence of those of our fellow citizens who believe that American opinion can stop it, but, being somewhat older than some of them, and having run through a rather wide gamut of experience, I am prevented from sharing their hopeful optimism. I would not belittle the influences of opinion, least of all the influences of American opinion—it is very influential—but it will not stop this overwhelming flood. And, if not the force of opinion, what force has America available to stop the flood from overflowing her own fair area?

We have one considerable arm of force, a very considerable arm of force, namely, the splendid Navy of the United States. I am told by the experts, to whose judgment I must defer in these matters, that the Navy of the United States, in respect of its enumerated force, ranks only fourth among the navies of the world. I indulge myself in the opinion that in quality it ranks very much higher than fourth place. The United States has never been negligent of its Navy, despite what some gentlemen may say; least of all has it been negligent in recent years. Three years ago there were 182 vessels in commission in that navy; there are now 238. Three dreadnoughts and fifteen subordinate craft will be added within a month or two. There have been added 6,000 capable soldiers to the ranks of the enlisted men of that Navy. The Congress of the United States in the last three years has poured out more money than was poured out on the average in any previous years in the history of the United States for the

maintenance and upbuilding of the United States Navy; has spent forty-four million dollars a year as contrasted with a previous average of not more than thirty-three and a half million. All the subsidiary arms of the service have been built up. Three years ago there were four officers assigned the duty connected with aviation, and they did not have a single available—at any rate usable—craft at their service; now there are thirty-seven airships, 121 commissioned officers, and a large number of non-commissioned officers and a sufficient force of enlisted men in the school of practice at Pensacola; and that is only the beginning, because the Sixty-third Congress, the last Congress, was the first to make a specific appropriation for aviation in connection with the navy.

We have given to the present fleet of the United States an organization such as it never had before, I am told by Admiral Fletcher, and we have made preparations for immediate war, so far as the Navy is concerned. The trouble is not with the quality or the organization of the existing Navy; it is merely that we have followed plans piecemeal, a little bit at a time, now in this direction, now in that direction; that we have never had a plan thought out to cover a number of years in advance; that we have never set ourselves a definite goal of equipment and set our resolution to attain that goal within a reasonable length of time. The plans that are being proposed to the present Congress, and which the present Congress will adopt, are plans to remedy this piecemeal treatment of the navy and bring it to its highest point of efficiency by steady plans carried out from month to month and year to year. It is going to cost a good deal of money, and I find that the difficulty with some members of Congress is, not what ought to be done about the navy, but what they are going to tax in order to get the money. I do not happen to be a member of Congress, but I would be willing to go before any constituency in the United States in the confidence that they were willing to pay for the defense of the Nation. We are neither poor nor niggardly. We know how things cost and we intend to pay for them; and we do not intend to pay for them more than they are worth.

That is a matter which is troubling a good many people. I have proposed to the Congress that for one thing we at once build our own armor plant, not for the purpose of making all the armor that our ships need, unless that should become necessary, but for the purpose of keeping the price within sight. I have proposed to the Congress that we prepare to manufacture also the munitions which the Government may need—for the same purpose—not to drive other people out of business, but merely to serve other people with notice that if necessary we will manufacture all the munitions we need. We have had some experience in this matter. The Navy now makes a

very large proportion of its own powder. Before it began, it paid 53 cents a pound for it, and now it pays 36 cents. That shows the very interesting effect of Government competition upon the price. So all along the line we mean business, and we are going to see that business characterizes the processes of national defense. We would not be Americans if we did not.

But what Army have we available? I can tell you, because it has been necessary for us to take care of the patrolling of a very long southern border between us and Mexico. We have not men enough in the United States Army for the routine work of peace, and the increase in the Regular Army that is being proposed to the present Congress is intended only to bring the Regular Army up to an adequate peace establishment. I say that that is all that is being proposed with regard to the Regular Army. The United States has never, my fellow citizens, depended upon the Regular Army to conduct its wars. It has depended upon the Volunteers of the United States, and it has never been disappointed either in their numbers or in their quality. But modern warfare is very different from what warfare used to be. Warfare has changed so within the span of a single life that it is nothing less than brutal to send raw recruits into the trenches and into the field. I am told by gentlemen who are very much more expert in knowing things that nobody else knows than I am that there are probably several million men in this country who have been trained to arms either in this country or in the country of their nativity. It may be, but who has a list of them? Where are they? What law lays upon them the duty of coming into the ranks of the armed forces of the United States if it should be necessary to call for volunteers? How are they organized? Who can reach them? Who can command them? There might be several million men with that training, but if they would not come upon the call they would be of no immediate use to the United States.

What we wish is a definite citizen reserve of men trained to arms to a sufficient extent to make them quickly transformable into a fighting force, organized under the immediate direction of the United States, subject to a definite pledge to serve the United States, and pledged to obey immediately the call of the President when Congress authorizes him to call them to arms. We do not want men to devote the greater part of their time to training in arms. We want men whose occupation and passion and habit is peace, because they are the only men who can carry into the field the spirit of America as contrasted with the spirit of the professional soldier. I would not have you for a moment understand me as detracting from the character and reputation of the professional soldier as we know him in the United States. I have dealt with him; he is as good an American

as I am. He has a degree of intelligence and of devotion to his duty which commands my entire admiration. But the spirit of every profession is different from the spirit of the community. I would not trust any particular business to any particular profession exclusively if it were the public business, because every profession that I know anything about has its special point of view. But when a man has to defend his country outside the circle of the things that he ordinarily does, he has, I believe, the spirit of his country in a degree that he would not have it if he were merely performing a professional duty.

Have you looked at the most valued souvenir of families in America? Have you never seen a rusty sword treasured from the days of the Revolution or from the days of the Civil War? Have you never seen an old-fashioned musket hung up in some conspicuous place of honor? Did you ever see a spade hung up, or a pick hung up, or a yardstick hung up, or a ledger hung up? Did you ever see in such place of honor any symbol of the ordinary occupations of peace? Why? Because America loves war and honors it more than she loves peace? Certainly not! But because America honors utter self-sacrifice more than she honors anything else. It is no self-sacrifice to earn your daily bread; it is a necessity—a necessity which, if you accomplish it with success, you are deserving of all praise. But it is not self-sacrifice. It is no self-sacrifice to work for yourself and the people you love. The self-sacrifice comes when you are ready to forget yourself, forget your loved ones, forget everything, even your love of life itself, to serve an invisible master, the great spirit of America herself. We dread war, we condemn war in America. We love peace. But we know that the lads who carried those swords and those muskets loved something more even than they loved peace—that they loved honor and the integrity of the Nation.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, we have to prepare ourselves not to be unfair to the men who are going to make this self-sacrifice should the terrible necessity arise for them to make it. We ought to make sure that we are not responsible for leaving them unprepared in knowledge and in training, and we ought to make it the pride of America that great bodies of men greater than the Government calls for are ready to prepare themselves for the day of exigency and the day of sacrifice. Every lad that did this would feel better for it. Every lad that obeyed his officers in the process of training would feel that he was obeying something greater than the officer, that he was obeying the instinct of patriotic service, and clothing himself with a new nobility by reason of the process.

I have been asked by questioning friends in Washington whether I thought a sufficient number of men would volunteer for the training or not. Why, if they did not, it is not the America that you and I

know; something has happened. They have said, "Do you suppose that the men who employ young men would give them leave to take this training"? I say, "Certainly I suppose it; I know it." Because I know that the patriotism of America is not a name and an empty boast, but a splendid reality. If they did not do it, I should be ashamed of America, and I never expect to see the day when America gives me the slightest reason to be ashamed of her. I am sorry for the skeptics who believe that the response would not be tremendous; not grudging, but overflowing in its abundant strength. And it is to prove that that we want to try the plans that are before the present Congress.

You will remind me of the great National Guard of the country; but how great is it, ladies and gentlemen? There are one hundred million people in this country and there are only 129,000 men in the National Guard, and those 129,000 men are under the direction, by the constitutional arrangement of our system, of the governments of more than two-score States. The President of the United States is not at liberty to call them out of their States except upon the occasion of actual invasion of the territory of the United States. We are not now thinking of invasion of the territory of the United States. That is not what is making us anxious. We are not asking ourselves, "Shall we be prepared to defend our own shores and our own homes?" Is that all that we stand for, to keep the door securely shut against enemies? Certainly not. What of the great trusteeship we have set up for liberty of government and national independence in the whole Western Hemisphere? What of the pledges back of that great principle that has been ours and guided our foreign affairs ever since the day of President Monroe? We stand pledged to see that both the continents of America are left free to be used by their peoples as those peoples choose to use them, under a principle of national popular sovereignty as absolute and unchallenged as our own. And at this very moment, as I am speaking to you, the Americas are drawing together upon that handsome principle of reciprocal respect and reciprocal defense.

When I speak of preparation for national defense I am speaking of something intangible and visionary; I am looking at a vision of the mind. America has never seen its destiny with the physical eye. The destiny of America lies written in the lines of poets, in the characters of self-sacrificing soldiers, in the conceptions and ambitions of her greatest statesmen; lies written in the teachings of her school-rooms, in all those ideals of service of humanity and of liberty for the individual which are to be found written in the very school books of the boys and girls whom we send to be taught to be Americans. The destiny of America is an ideal destiny. America has no reason

for being unless her destiny and her duty be ideal. It is her incumbent privilege to declare and stand for the rights of men. Nothing less is worth fighting for, nothing less is worth sacrificing for. The men and women of the American Colonies were physically comfortable. Even the much complained of arrangements of trade in those days were not unfair in the sense that they did not bring prosperity. America was offended and restless under the mere suggestion that she was not allowed to get her prosperity in her own way and under the guidance of her own spirit and purpose, and the American Revolution was fought for an ideal. We would have been as prosperous under the British Crown, but we should not have been as happy and we should not have respected ourselves as much.

Therefore, what America is bound to fight for when the time comes is nothing more nor less than her self-respect. There is no immediate prospect that her material interests may be seriously affected, but there is constant danger, every day of the week, that her spiritual interests may suffer serious affront, and it is in order that they may be safeguarded, in order that America may show that the old conceptions of liberty are ready to translate themselves in her hands into conceptions and manifestations of power at any time that it is necessary so to transform them, that we must make ourselves ready. You have not sent your representatives to Washington, ladies and gentlemen, to represent your business merely, to represent your ideals of material life. You have sent them there to represent you in your character as a Nation, and it is only from that point of view that they counsel you; it is only upon that footing that they can appeal to you. I feel this so profoundly that I want to add this: I did not come away from Washington because I had the least misgiving as to what the United States was going to do. You must not get impatient because there are long processes of debate at Washington. Wait for the end of the debate. The things that are necessary to be done are going to be done and thoroughly done. I for my part would be sorry for the man who did not take part in doing them if he had to stand up and give the reasons why, and I hope that every man who does not consent to do them will be made to stand up and give the reasons why. But it is empty to say that, because there is no danger; the things are going to be done. I came merely in order that you might understand the spirit in which they are proposed, and also receive from my lips the assurance of the absolute necessity that they should be done thoroughly and done very soon. For if they are not done and thoroughly done and done very soon it may turn out that you have laid upon me an impossible task, and that I should have to suffer the mortification and you the disappointment of having the combination of peace with honor prove to be impossible.

It is not a happy circumstance to have these moments of national necessity arise, and yet I for my part am not sorry that this necessity has arisen. It has awakened me, myself, I frankly confess to you, to many things and many conditions which a year ago I did not realize. I did not realize then that the things were possible which have since become actual facts. I am glad that I know better than I knew then exactly the sort of world we are living in. I would be ashamed of my intelligence if I did not understand the significance of indubitable facts. And it may be that large bodies of our fellow citizens were resting in a false security, based upon an imaginary correspondence of all the world with the conceptions under which they were themselves conducting their own lives. It is probably a fortunate circumstance, therefore, that America has been cried awake by these voices in the disturbed and reddened night, when fire sweeps sullenly from continent to continent, and it may be that in this red flame of light there will rise again that ideal figure of America holding up her hand of hope and of guidance to the people of the world and saying, "I stand ready to counsel and to help; I stand ready to assert whenever the flame is quenched those infinite principles of rectitude and peace which alone can bring happiness and liberty to mankind."

[Need for American Preparedness When Other Nations Are at War; Delivered at Des Moines, Iowa, Feb. 1, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR EXCELLENCY, AND FELLOW CITIZENS: I am greatly cheered, as well as greatly honored, by the sight of this great audience. I have been very much impressed by being told that you have been waiting here patiently for more than two hours for the exercises of the evening, and I think I know, I hope I know, what that means. It is not only that in your gracious courtesy you have waited to greet the President of the United States, but that, knowing the errand upon which he has come, you are profoundly interested, as he is, in the candid discussion of some of the chief things which concern the welfare and the safety of the Nation.

Some one who does not know our fellow citizens quite as well as he ought to know them told me that there was a certain degree of indifference and lethargy in the Middle West with regard to the defense of the Nation. I said, "I do not believe it, but I am going out to see"; and I have seen. I have seen what I expected to see—great bodies of serious men, great bodies of earnest women, coming together to show their profound interest in the objects of this visit of mine. I know, therefore, that it is my privilege to address those who will realize the spirit of responsibility in which I speak to them.

My fellow citizens, it would be easy, if I permitted myself to do so, to draw a picture of the present situation of the world which would deeply stir your feelings and perhaps deeply excite your apprehension,

but you would not think that it was right for your Chief Magistrate to speak any word of excitement whatever. I want you to believe that in what I say to you I am endeavoring as far as extemporaneous speech will permit to weigh every word that I say. I said a moment ago that you know the errand upon which I have come to you, but do you know the reasons why I have undertaken that errand? There are some very conclusive and imperative reasons. Some of our fellow citizens are seeking to darken counsel upon this great matter; not I hope and believe out of wrong motives, but certainly I believe out of mistaken conceptions of the duty and interest of America.

On the one hand there is a considerable body of men who are trying to stir the very sort of excitement in this country upon which every true, well-balanced American ought to frown. There are actually men in America who are preaching war, who are preaching the duty of the United States to do what it never would before seek—entanglement in the controversies which have arisen on the other side of the water, abandonment of its habitual and traditional policy and deliberate participation in the conflict which is now engulfing the rest of the world. I do not know what the standards of citizenship of these gentlemen may be. I only know that I for one can not subscribe to those standards. I believe that I more truly speak the spirit of America when I say that that spirit is a spirit of peace. Why, no voice has ever come to any public man more audibly, more unmistakably, than the voice of this great people has come to me, bearing this impressive lesson, "We are counting upon you to keep this country out of war." And I call you to witness, my fellow countrymen, that I have spent every thought and energy that has been vouchsafed me in order to keep this country out of war. It can not be disclosed now, perhaps it can never be disclosed, how anxious and difficult that task has been, but my heart has been in it. I have not grudged a single burden that has been thrown upon me with that end in view, for I knew that not only my own heart, but the heart of all America, was in the cause of peace.

Yet, my fellow citizens, there are some men amongst us preaching peace who go much further than I can go. Not further than I can go in the sentiment of peace; not further than truth warrants them in going in interpreting the desire and sentiment of America, but further than I can follow them, further, I believe, than you can follow them, in preaching the doctrine of peace at any price and in any circumstances. There is a price which is too great to pay for peace, and that price can be put in one word. One can not pay the price of self-respect. One can not pay the price of duties abdicated, of glorious opportunities neglected, of character, national character, left without vindication and exemplification in action. America has a character

as distinct as the character of any individual amongst us. We read that character in every page of her singular and glorious history. It is written in invisible signs which, nevertheless, our spirits can decipher upon the very folds of the flag which is the emblem of our national life.

The gentlemen who are out-and-out pacifists are making one fundamental mistake. That is not a mistake about the sentiments of America, but a mistake about the circumstances of the world. America does not constitute the world. In many of her sentiments and predilections she does not represent or influence the world. The dangers to our peace do not come any longer from within our own borders. I could not have said that a few months ago. Passion was astir in this country. There was a clash of sympathies and a heat of passion which made our air tense and made men hold their breath for fear some of our fellow countrymen would forget that their first loyalty was to America and only their second loyalty to the ancient affections which bound them, and honorably bound them, to some older country and polity. But those dangers have passed. America has regained her self-possession. Men are now ready to feel and to act in common in the great cause of a common national life, and no influence within America is going to disturb the peace of America.

But America can not be an ostrich with its head in the sand. America can not shut itself out from the rest of the world, because all the dangers at this present moment, and they are many, come from her contacts with the rest of the world. Those contacts are going to be largely determined by other nations and not determined by ourselves. I have not come to tell you that there is any danger to our national life from anything that your Government may do or your Congress propose. I have come to tell you that there is danger to our national life from what other nations may do. And let me say, ladies and gentlemen, that I would not speak of other nations in a spirit of criticism. Not only would it not become me to do so, as your spokesman and representative, but I would not be interpreting my real feeling if I did so. Every nation now engaged in the titanic struggle on the other side of the water believes, with an intensity of conviction that can not be exaggerated, that it is fighting for its rights, and in most instances that it is fighting for its life; and we must not be too critical of the men who lead those nations. If America's liberty were involved, if we thought that America's life was involved, would we criticise our leaders and public men because they went every length of even desperate endeavor to see that the Nation did not suffer and that the Nation did triumph? I have it not in my heart to criticise these men. But I want you to know the dangers that they are running, and that the dangers they are running are dangers which involve us also.

Look what it is that America is called on to do. I can tell you what America is called on to do, because there is hardly a day goes by that some bit of news does not bear to my office some kind of appeal. There is hardly a week goes by that some delegation does not come to the Executive Office in Washington bearing some kind of protest, some kind of request, some kind of urgent message, looking toward interference in the interest of peace. Why, I have talked with earnest men and women, not of our own citizenship, but come out of the body of these other great nations, who plead with me to put the moral force of the Government of the United States into one or other of the European scales, so as to see that this struggle was the sooner brought to a peaceful conclusion. America is looked upon to sit in a sort of moral judgment upon the processes of war. And the processes of what a war! The world, my fellow citizens, never witnessed a struggle like this before. Do you know that there is not a single continent except the continent of South America that has not been touched by the flame of this terrible conflagration? Do you know that there is not a single country in the world, not even excepting our own, into which the influences of this tremendous struggle have not been thrust by way of political influence and effect? The whole world is tremulous with the influences of passion and of desperate struggle, and the only great disengaged nation is this Nation which we love and whose interests we would conserve.

What is America expected to do? She is expected to do nothing less than keep law alive while the rest of the world burns. You know that there is no international tribunal, my fellow citizens. I pray God that if this contest have no other result, it will at least have the result of creating an international tribune and producing some sort of joint guarantee of peace on the part of the great nations of the world. But it has not yet done that, and the only thing, therefore, that keeps America out of danger is that to some degree the understandings, the ancient and honorable understandings, of nations with regard to their relations to one another and to the citizens of one another are to some extent still observed and followed. And whenever there is a departure from them, the United States is called upon to intervene, to speak its voice of protest, to speak its voice of insistence.

Do you want it to be only a voice of insistence? Do you want the situation to be such that all that the President can do is to write messages; to utter words of protest? If these breaches of international law which are in daily danger of occurring should touch the very vital interests and honor of the United States, do you wish to do nothing about it? Do you wish to have all the world say that the flag of the United States, which we love, can be stained with impunity?

Why, to ask the question is to answer it. I know that there is not a man or a woman in the hearing of my voice who would wish peace at the expense of the honor of the United States.

I said just now that an unmistakable voice had come to my ears from out the great body of this Nation, saying, "We depend upon you to keep us out of war;" but that same voice added always this sentence also, "But we depend upon you to maintain unsullied and unquestioned the honor and integrity of the United States;" and many a night when it has seemed impossible for me to sleep, because of the thought of the apparently inextricable difficulties into which our international relations were drifting, I have said to myself, "I wonder if the people of the United States fully realize what that mandate means to me?" And then sleep has come because I have known, as I have known in my own mind and in my own heart, that there was not a community in America that would not stand behind me in maintaining the honor of the United States.

My fellow citizens, you may be called upon any day to stand behind me to maintain the honor of the United States. And how are you going to do it? There are two ways of doing it. One is the careless, easy-going, wasteful way in which we have done these things hitherto. You say, "There are plenty of fighting men in the United States; there are unexhausted and inexhaustible material resources in the United States; nobody could do more than put us at a disadvantage for a little while." Yes; there are plenty of fighting men in the United States; but do they know how modern war is conducted? Do they know how to guard themselves against disease in the camp? Do they know what the discipline of organization is? Shall we send the whole body of those men who first volunteer to be butchered because they did not know how to make themselves immediately ready for the battlefield and the trench; because they did not know anything about the terrible vicissitudes and disciplines of modern battle?

Why, war has been transformed almost within the memory of men. The mere mustering of volunteers is not war. Mere bodies of men are not an army; and we have neither the men nor the equipment for the men if they should be called out. It would take time to make an army of them—perhaps a fatal length of time—and it would take a long time to provide them with the absolute necessities of warfare. America is not going to sacrifice her youth after that fashion. America is going to prepare for war by preparing citizens who know what war means and how war can be conducted. It is going to increase its standing army up to the point of efficiency for the present uses for which it is needed, and it is going to put back of that army a great body of peaceful men, following their daily pursuits, knowing that their own happiness and the happiness of everybody they love depends

upon peace, who, nevertheless, at the call of their country, will know how immediately to make themselves into an army and to come out and face an enemy in a fashion which will show that America can neither be daunted nor taken by surprise.

I spoke just now of equipment. I know that there is a very general impression that influences are at work in this country whose impulse does not come from a thoughtful conviction of danger, but which is said to come from a very thoughtful prospect of profit. I have heard the preposterous statement made that the agitation for preparation for national defense has come chiefly from the men who make armor plate for the ships and munitions for the Army. Why, ladies and gentlemen, do you suppose that all the thoughtful men who are engaged upon this side of this great question are susceptible of being led by influences of that sort? Do you suppose that they are so blind to the manifest opportunities for that sort of profit that they do not know the influences that are abroad and effective in such matters? I have not found the impulse for national defense coming from those sources. I have found it coming from the men with whom I rubbed shoulders on the street and in the factory; I have found it coming from the men who have nothing to do with the making of profits, but who have everything to do with the making of the daily life of this country. And it is from them that I take my inspiration. But I know the points of danger, and from the first, ladies and gentlemen, I have been urging upon Congress—I urged upon Congress before this war began—that the Government of the United States supply itself with the necessary plants to make the armor for the ships and to make the munitions for the guns and the men, and I believe, and confidently predict, that the adoption of measures of that sort will be part of the preparation for national defense; not in order, for it is not necessary, that the Government should make all the armor plate needed for the fleet or all the munitions needed for the men and the guns, but in order that it should make enough to regulate and control the price.

We are not theorists in this matter. We have tried it in one field. The Government is now manufacturing a very considerable proportion of the powder needed for the Navy. The consequence is that it has reduced its price from 53 cents to 36 cents. The point is that it can now get its powder from the private manufacturers of powder at 36 cents, because they know that it can be manufactured for that with a reasonable profit, and that if the Government can not buy it from them, it will make it for itself.

Of course somebody is going to make money out of the things privately manufactured, manufactured by private capital. There are men now in the great belligerent countries making, I dare say, vast

sums of money out of the war, but making it perfectly legitimately, and I for one do not stand here to challenge or doubt their patriotism in the matter. America is not going to be held back from any great national enterprise by any great financial interest of any sort, because America, of all places in the world, is alive to things of that sort and knows how to avoid the difficulties which are involved. If there is any thought on the part of those who make armor plate and munitions that they will get extraordinary profit out of preparation for national defense, all I have to say is that they will be sadly disappointed. But these are things which to my mind go without saying, for, ladies and gentlemen, if it is necessary to defend this Nation we are going to defend it no matter who makes money and no matter what it costs.

I have heard some gentleman say, "My constituents do not object to the program, but they do object to the bills that will have to be paid afterwards." I would be very sorry to give that account of any constituency in the United States. I would be very sorry to believe, and I do not believe, that any constituency in the United States will be governed by considerations of that sort. Of course it is going to cost money to prepare for defense, but equally of course, the American people are going to pay for it, and pay for it without grumbling. We are not selfishly rich; we are a very rich people, but we can not be rich as a people unless we maintain our character and integrity as a people. Life is not worth anything for us as a nation if the very issues of life for the Nation itself are put in jeopardy by the action which we neglect to take. So I have come out on this errand merely to get in touch with you, my fellow citizens, merely to let you know in temperate words from my own lips that the men who are saying that preparation for national defense is necessary, and immediately necessary, are speaking the sober truth. And I believe that you will credit the statement that no man is in a better position to know that than I am.

One aspect of this matter makes me very glad, indeed. Party politics, my friends, sometimes plays too large a part in the United States. Parties are worth while only when their differences are based upon absolute conviction. They are not worth while when they are based upon differences of personal ambition. Parties are dignified and worthy of the consideration of a nation only when their arguments are for the national benefit, each arguing according to their genuine opinion, their real observation of facts, their real ardor for the national welfare; and it is very delightful sometimes, as upon this occasion, to find an issue regarding which no line can be drawn between one party and another. I have not the embarrassment in standing before you tonight of making the impression that I am urging the advantage of a party or the advantage of an individual. There are just as many men interested in national defense on the one side as on the other.

They are all actuated by the same motives; they differ as to details, but they do not differ as to their objects, and I thank God that there is no party politics when it comes to the life and welfare of the United States. Do you suppose that if the country were in danger, any man would hesitate to volunteer on the ground that he belonged to this party or to that? Do you suppose that if a Republican administration were in power at Washington any Democrat would hesitate to enlist, or that, a Democratic administration being there, any Republican would hesitate to enlist? Why, the whole history of the country gives an emphatic negative to that question. We are not Democrats or Republicans tonight. We are Americans.

It was a very thrilling thing to me as I came into this hall to see the multitude of American flags that waved above the heads of this audience, and upon every stage of my journey since I left Washington on Friday last. I have seen flags, big flags, little flags, flags of every sort, old flags torn with use, new flags brought out for the first time, displayed any way—upon improvised poles, upon the rooftrees of houses, upon chimneys, upon any point of vantage where somebody might throw to the breeze this thrilling signal of our national life; and it has seemed to me that as each stage of the journey was accomplished, there was imprinted still deeper upon my heart this solemn reflection, that the honor of that flag was in my keeping not only, but in the keeping of the people who displayed it, for, ladies and gentlemen the impulses of government in this country do not come from the rulers, they come from the people. I was saying the other night that I know of no case where one people made war upon another people. I know only of cases where one Government made war upon another Government. No Government can make war in the United States. The people make war through their representatives. The Constitution of the United States does not give the President even a participating part in the making of war. War can be declared only by the Congress, by an action which the President does not take part in and can not veto. I am literally, by constitutional arrangement, the mere servant of the people's representatives.

I know that a great pulse of feeling underlies the thought of every one of you, as it underlies my thought. We teach our children, ladies and gentlemen, the history of the United States, and I suppose we do incidentally point out to them the great material growth and tremendous physical power of this country, but that is not what we emphasize in our history. We tell them the stories (how proudly we tell them the stories) of the men who have died for their country without any thought of themselves; of the great ideal principles for the vindication of which America was set up, and which the flag that we honor was designed to represent. And as I look at that flag I seem to see

many characters upon it which are not visible to the physical eye. There seem to move there ghostly visions of devoted men who, looking to that flag, thought only of liberty, of the rights of mankind, of the mission of America to show the way to the world for the realization of the rights of mankind; and every grave of every brave man of the country would seem to have upon it the colors of the flag, if he was a true American; would seem to have on it that stain of red which means the true pulse of blood, and that beauty of pure white which means the peace of the soul. And then there seems to rise over the graves of these men and to hallow their memories that blue space of the sky in which stars swim, those stars which exemplify for us that glorious galaxy of the States of the Union, bodies of free men banded together to vindicate the rights of mankind.

[Preparation for National Defense, the Imperative Duty of America; Delivered at Topeka, Kan., Feb. 2, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR EXCELLENCY, FELLOW CITIZENS: It is a genuine satisfaction on my part to find myself in Kansas again. I feel that every word that your governor has said about Kansas is true. It likes to know what the facts are and it likes to give them an open and frank consideration. Moreover, I believe that you realize that I would not have come away from Washington except upon a very unusual occasion. Obviously it is my duty, so far as possible, to be always in Washington during these critical times of change, when nobody knows what an hour will bring forth or what delicate question will assume some new aspect. You will realize, therefore, that it was only because I felt it my imperative and supreme duty to come out and discuss matters with you that I have left Washington at all, and that only for a few days.

I have come, not to plead a cause—the cause I would speak for does not need to be pleaded for—but because I would assist, if I could, to clarify judgment and to sweep away those things irrelevant and untrue which are likely to cloud the issue of national defense if they be not very candidly spoken about. You will ask me, “Is there some new crisis that has arisen?” I answer, “No; there is no special new critical situation which I have to discuss with you; but I want you to understand that the situation every day of the year is critical while this great contest continues in Europe.” I need not tell you what my own attitude toward that contest is. I have tried to live up to the counsel which I have given my fellow citizens, not only to be neutral in action, but also to be neutral in the genuine attitude of my thought and mind. It is easy to refrain from unneutral acts, but it is not easy, when the world is swept by storm, to refrain from unneutral thought. Moreover, America is a composite Nation. You do not realize it quite so much in Kansas as it is realized in some

other parts of the Union. So overwhelming a proportion of your population is native born that you naturally feel your first consciousness to be of America and things American; but imagine those communities—and they are many—which contain very large bodies of men whose birthplace, whose memories, whose family connections are on the other side of the sea, in places now swept by the flame of war; men for whom every mail brings news of some disaster that, it may be, has touched those whom they love or has swept the face of some countryside which they remember in association with the days of their youth. Their intimate sympathies are with some of the places now most affected by this titanic struggle. You can not wonder—I do not wonder—that their affections are stirred, old memories awakened and old passions rekindled. The majority of them are steadfast Americans, nevertheless. Look what happened to them, my fellow citizens. You and I were born in America; they chose to be Americans. They deliberately came to America, beckoned hither by some of the fairest promises and prospects ever offered to mankind. They were told that this was a land of liberty and of opportunity, as it is. They were told that this was a land in which they could throw off some of the restraints and trammels under which they had chafed in the older countries. They were told that this was the place for the feet of young men who had ambition and who wished untrammelled hope to be their only leader; and of their own free and deliberate choice they crossed the waters and joined their destinies with ours, and the vast majority of them have the passion of American liberty in their hearts just as much as you and I have. I do not want any American to misunderstand the real situation, and I believe that to be the real situation. Some men of foreign birth have tried to stir up trouble in America, but, gentlemen, some men of American birth have tried to stir up trouble in America, too. If you were to listen to the counsels that are dinned into my ears in the Executive Office in Washington, you would find that some of the most intemperate of them came from the lips of men whose people have for generations together been identified with America but who for the time being are so carried away by the sweep of their sympathies that they have ceased to think in the terms of American tradition and American policy.

So that the situation for us is this: There is no country in the world, I suppose, whose heart is more open to generous emotions than this dear country which we love. You have seen what the result was in the extraordinary amount of assistance which we have tried to render to those who are suffering most grievously from the consequences of the war on the other side of the sea. I express no judgment concerning any matter with regard to the conduct of the war, but the heart of America has bled because of the condition of

the people in Belgium, and you know how we have poured out of our sympathy and of our wealth to assist in the relief of suffering in that sorrow-swept land. America looks to all quarters of the world and sympathizes with mankind in its sufferings wherever those sufferings may be displayed or undergone.

What you have to realize is that everywhere throughout America there is combustible material—combustible in our breasts. It is easy to take fire where everything is hot. It is easy to start a flame when the air is full of the floating sparks of a great conflagration. We have got to be on our guard, and it has been our hourly and daily anxiety in Washington to see that the exposed tinder was covered up and the sparks prevented from falling where there were magazines.

I was told before I came here, and I read in one of your papers this morning, that Kansas was not in sympathy with any policy of preparation for national defense. I do not believe a word of it. I long ago learned to distinguish between editorial opinion and popular opinion. Moreover, having been addicted to books, I happened to have read the history of Kansas, and if there is any place in the world fuller of fight than Kansas I would like to hear of it; any other place fuller of fight on the right lines. Kansas is not looking for trouble, but Kansas has made trouble for everybody that interfered with her liberties or her rights, and if I were to pick out one place which was likely to wince first and get hot first about invasion of the essential principles of American liberty I certainly would look to Kansas among the first places in the country. If Kansas is opposed or has been opposed to the policy of preparation for national defense, it has been only because somebody has misrepresented that policy, and Kansas does not know what it is.

What is the issue? Why, of course, there are some men going about proposing great military establishments for America, but you have not heard anybody connected with the administration who did. You have not heard anybody in any responsible position who could carry his plan out who did. The singular thing about this situation is that the loudest voices have been the irresponsible voices. It is easy to talk and to say what ought to be done when you know that you do not have to do it. Nobody in authority, nobody in a position to lead the policy of the country, has proposed great military armaments, and nobody who really understands the history or shares the spirit of America could or would propose great military establishments for America. But I have heard of men in Kansas who owned their own firearms and knew how to use them, and if there is any place in the Union more than another where you ought to understand what it is to be ready to take care of yourselves, this is the place. All that anybody in authority has proposed is that America should

be put in such a position that her free citizens should know how to take care of themselves and their country when the occasion arose.

We have been proposing only a very moderate increase in the standing army of the country because it is already too small for the routine uses of peace. I have not had soldiers enough to patrol the border between here and Mexico. I have not had soldiers enough for the ordinary services of the Army, and there are many things that it has been impossible for me to do which it was my duty to do, because there were not men to do them with. You are not, I am sure, going to be jealous of an increase of the Army merely sufficient to enable the Executive to carry out his constitutional responsibilities. Over and above that we have proposed this, that a sufficient number of men out of the ranks of the civil pursuits of the country should be trained in the use and keeping of arms, in the sanitation of camps, in the maneuvers of the field, and in military organization; to be ready and pledged to be ready, if the call should come upon act of Congress, to unite their force with the little force of the Army itself and make a great multitude of armed men who were ready to vindicate the rights of America.

Is there anything inconsistent with the traditions of Kansas or with the true traditions of America in a proposal like that? The very essence of American tradition is contained in the proposal. Every constitution of every State in the Union forbids the State legislature to abridge the right of its citizens to carry arms. At the very outset the makers of our very institutions realized that the force of the Nation must dwell in the homes of the Nation. I do not mean the moral force merely; I mean the physical force also. They realized that every man must be allowed not only to have a vote, but, if he wanted to, to have a gun too, so that when the voices of peace did not suffice, the voices of force would prevail; knowing that great bodies of men do not use force to usurp their own liberties, but to declare and vindicate their liberties, and that there will be no collusion among free men to upset free institutions; that, whereas cliques and coteries and professional groups may conceive it to be of their interest to interfere with the peaceful life of the country, the general body of citizens would never so conceive it.

What we are asking is this, that the Nation supply arms for those of the Nation who are ready, if occasion should arise, to come to the national defense, and that it should do this without withdrawing them from their pursuits of industry and of peace, in order that America should know that in the fountains from which she always draws her strength there welled up the inexhaustible resources of American manhood. This is not a military policy; this is a policy of adequate preparation for national defense, and any man who represents it in

any other light must either be ignorant or is consciously misrepresenting the facts.

You will say, "We have a National Guard." Yes; we have a National Guard, and the units of it, so far as I have observed them, command my admiration and respect, but there are only 129,000 enlisted men in the National Guard, taking the Nation as a whole, and they are divided up into as many units as there are States. The Constitution of the United States puts them under the direct command and control of the governors of the States, not of the President of the United States, and the national authority has no right to call upon them for any service outside their States unless the territory of the Nation is actually invaded. I want to see Congress do everything that it can to enhance the dignity and the force and to assist in the development of the National Guard, but the National Guard is a body of State troops and not a body of national reserves, because the Constitution makes them so, no matter whether we now think those are the best arrangements or not.

The other matter I want to speak to you about is not the plan itself, for that is a question of detail. I have given you the idea of it, and time does not suffice to discuss the detail in meetings of this sort. The detail is printed, for that matter, for anybody to see who wants it. The other matter is this: Suppose you had a great body of, let us say, half a million men sufficiently trained to arms to make the nucleus of a great army if it were necessary to create a great army. What would be your idea that you would do with it? That is the matter that we need to clear up most of all. There are all sorts of people in the United States, and there are people who think that we ought to use the force of the United States to get anything we can get with it; but you do not think that, and I do not think that, and not one American in a hundred thousand thinks that. We would never use this force to carry out any policy that even smacked of aggression of any kind; because this Nation loves peace more than it loves anything else except honor.

I like that exclamation of Henry V in that stirring play of Shakespeare's, "If it be an offense to covet honor, then am I the most offending soul alive," and I believe that could be said of America. If it be an offense against the peace of the nations to covet honor, then is America the most offending nation in the world. But she knows the basis of honor—that the basis of honor is right, is peaceful intention, is just action, is the treatment of others as we would wish to be treated ourselves, is the insistence upon the rule of a free field and no favor. The spirit of America would hold any Executive back, would hold any Congress back, from any action that had the least taint of aggression upon it. We are not going to invade any nation's territory. We are

not going to covet any nation's possessions. We are not going to invade any nation's rights. But suppose, my fellow countrymen, some nation should invade our rights. What then? What would Kansas think? What would Kansas do then? What would America, speaking by the voice of Kansas or any other State in the Union, think and do then? I have come here to tell you that the difficulties of our foreign policy, the delicate questions of our foreign relationships, do not diminish either in number or in delicacy and difficulty, but, on the contrary, daily increase in number and in intricacy and in danger, and I would be derelict to my duty to you if I did not deal with you in these matters with the utmost candor and tell you what it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to do.

For one thing, it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to vindicate the right of American citizens everywhere to enjoy the protection of international law. There is nothing you would be quicker to blame me for than neglecting to safeguard the rights of Americans, no matter where they might be in the world. There are perfectly clearly marked rights guaranteed by international law which every American is entitled to enjoy, and America is not going to abide the habitual or continued neglect of those rights. Perhaps not being as near the ports as some other Americans, you do not travel as much and you do not realize the infinite number of legitimate errands upon which Americans travel—errands of commerce, errands of relief, errands of business for the Government, errands of every sort which make America useful to the world. Americans do not travel to disturb the world; they travel to quicken the processes of the interchange of life and of goods in the world, and their travel ought not to be impeded by a reckless disregard of international obligation.

There is another thing that we ought to safeguard, and that is our right to sell what we produce in the open neutral markets of the world. Where there is a blockade, we recognize the right to blockade; where there are the ordinary restraints created by a state of war, we ought to recognize those restraints; but the world needs the wheat off of the Kansas fields and off the other great flowering acres of the United States, and we have a right to supply the rest of the world with the products of those fields. We have a right to send food to peaceful populations wherever the conditions of war make it possible to do so under the ordinary rules of international law. We have a right to supply them with our cotton to clothe them. We have a right to supply them with our manufactured products.

We have made some mistakes, my fellow citizens. For several generations past we have so neglected our merchant marine that one of the difficulties we are struggling against has nothing to do with international questions. We have not got the American ships to send the goods

in, and we have got to get them. I am going to ask you to follow the fortunes of the so-called shipping bill in the present Congress and make suggestions to your Congressmen as to the absolute necessity of getting your wheat and your other products out of the ports and upon the high seas where they can go, and shall go, under the protection of the laws of the United States.

But that is a mere parenthesis. Aside from that, so far as there are vehicles to carry our trade, we have the right to extend our trade for the assistance of the world. For we have not been selfish in this neutral attitude of ours. I resent the suggestion that we have been selfish, desiring merely to make money. What would happen if there were no great nation disengaged from this terrible struggle? What would happen if every nation were consuming its substance in war? What would happen if no nation stood ready to assist the world with its finances and to supply it with its food? We are more indispensable now to the nations at war by the maintenance of our peace than we could possibly be to either side if we engaged in the war, and therefore there is a moral obligation laid upon us to keep out of this war if possible. But by the same token there is a moral obligation laid upon us to keep free the courses of our commerce and of our finance, and I believe that America stands ready to vindicate those rights.

But there are rights higher than either of those, higher than the rights of individual Americans outside of America, higher and greater than the rights of trade and of commerce. I mean the rights of mankind. We have made ourselves the guarantors of the rights of national sovereignty and of popular sovereignty on this side of the water in both the continents of the Western Hemisphere. You would be ashamed, as I would be ashamed, to withdraw one inch from that handsome guarantee; for it is a handsome guarantee. We have nothing to make by it, unless it be that we are to make friendships by it, and friendships are the best usury of any sort of business. So far as dollars and cents and material advantage are concerned we have nothing to make by the Monroe doctrine. We have nothing to make by allying ourselves with the other nations of the Western Hemisphere in order to see to it that no man from outside, no government from outside, no nation from outside attempts to assert any kind of sovereignty or undue political influence over the peoples of this continent.

America knows that the only thing that sustains the Monroe doctrine and all the inferences that flow from it is her own moral and physical force. The Monroe doctrine is not part of international law. The Monroe doctrine has never been formally accepted by any international agreement. The Monroe doctrine merely rests upon the statement of the United States that if certain things happen she will do certain things. So, nothing sustains the honor of the United States in respect

of these long-cherished and long-admired promises except her own moral and physical force.

Do you know what has interfered more than anything else with the peaceful relations of the United States with the rest of the world? The incredulity of the rest of the world when we have made statement of our sincere unselfishness in these matters! The greatest surprise the world ever had, politically speaking, was when the United States withdrew from Cuba. We said, "We are fighting this war for the sake of the Cubans, and when it is over we are going to turn Cuba over to her own people"; and statesmen in every capital in Europe smiled behind their hand. They said, "What! that great rich island lying directly south of the foot of your own Florida! plant your flag there and then haul it down?" Some Americans even said, "We will never raise the flag of the United States anywhere and then haul it down." And then, when the American people saw that the time had come when her promises were to be fulfilled, down came that fluttering emblem of our sovereignty, and we were more honored in its lowering than we had been in its hoisting. The American people feel the same way about the Philippines, though the rest of the world does not yet believe it. We are trustees for the Filipino people, and just as soon as we feel that they can take care of their own affairs without our direct interference and protection, the flag of the United States will again be honored by the fulfillment of a promise. That flag stands for honor, not for advantage. That flag stands for the rights of mankind, no matter where they be, no matter what their antecedents, no matter what the race involved; it stands for the absolute right to political liberty and free self-government, and wherever it stands for the contrary American traditions have begun to be forgotten.

But, my friends, the world does not understand that yet. It has got to have a few more demonstrations like the demonstration in Cuba; it has got to have a few more vindications of the American name. When those vindications have come, I believe that nothing but peace will ever reign between the United States and the nations of the rest of the world. For every man who minds his own business is sure of peace. Every man who respects his own character and observes the rights of others is sure of peace. And every nation that makes right its guide and honor its principle is sure of peace. But until these things are believed of us we must be ready with the hand of force to hold others off from the invasion of any right which we hold sacred.

I have come to you with the utmost confidence that the moment you understood the issue, all differences of party, all differences of individual judgment, all differences of point of view would fall away, and like true Americans we should all stand shoulder to shoulder in a common cause,—America first and her vindication the sacred law of our life.

For, ladies and gentlemen, it is only upon the most solemn occasions that I would appeal to you as I have been appealing to-day. The final test of the validity, the strength, the irresistible force of the American ideal, has come. The rest of the world must be made to realize from this time out just what America stands for, and when that happy time comes when peace shall reign again and America shall take part in the undisturbed and unclouded counsels of the world, it will be realized that the promises of the fathers, the ambitions of the men who fought for the bloody soil of Kansas, the ideals of the men who thought nothing of their lives in comparison with their ideals, will have been vindicated and the world will say, "America promised to hold this light of liberty and right up for the guidance of our feet, and behold she has redeemed her promise. Her men, her leaders, her rank and file are pure of heart; they have purged their hearts of selfish ambition and they have said to all mankind, 'Men and brethren, let us live together in righteousness and in the peace which springeth only from the soil of righteousness itself.'"

[Necessity of Military Training and Equipment in the Event of War, Delivered at Convention Hall, Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 2, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS: You have certainly given me a most royal welcome to Kansas City, and I esteem it a very great privilege to deliver the message which I have come to deliver to this great throng of intelligent people. My natural duty to you, ladies and gentlemen, is in Washington, not here. I have a certain scruple of conscience in being away from Washington for many days at a time, because it is one of the interesting circumstances of the moment that there is hardly a day which does not in some degree alter the aspect of affairs. It is important for your sake, and, I venture to add, for the sake of the peace of the world, that those who represent you in responsible stations should keep in constant touch with these changes. You will, therefore, credit me when I say that it is only an extraordinary occasion which draws me away from duties needing such constant attention.

I would not have come away from Washington had I not believed that there was a stronger compulsion of conscience to acquaint you with the state of affairs than there was to remain during this week at the place of guidance. You will know without my describing it to you what the task assigned me has been. It has been the task of keeping the scales so poised from day to day that no man should throw into one scale or the other any makeweight which would imperil the peace of the United States; for I have felt that you were depending upon your Government to keep you out of this turmoil which is disturbing the rest of the world. You are counting upon me to do more than keep you out of trouble, however. You are counting upon me to see to it that the rights of citizens of the United States, wherever they might be, are

respected by everybody. You have counted upon me to see that your energies should be released also along the channels of trade in order that you might serve the world as the only Nation disengaged and ready to serve it. You have expected me to see that the rest of the world permitted America thus to express and exercise her humane and legitimate energy.

I have come out to ask you what there was behind me in this task. You know the lawyer speaks of the law having a sanction back of it. The judge as he sits on his bench has something back of him. He has the whole physical force of the nation back of him. The laws reside and sit upon him, no matter how commonplace his individual aspect, with a sort of majesty, because there is the sovereignty of the people and of the people's government back of him. When he utters a judgment the man against whom it is uttered knows that he dare not resist it. But when I, as your spokesman and representative, utter a judgment with regard to the rights of the United States in its relations to other nations, what is the sanction? What is the compulsion? What lies back of that? You will say, "The force and majesty of the United States." Yes; the force and majesty of the United States; but is it ready to express itself? If you resist the judge, there are the bailiffs of the court; if you resist the bailiffs of the court, there are those who assist the sheriff of the county; if you resist the sheriff, there is the National Guard; if you resist the National Guard, there is the Army of the United States. But if you ignore in some foreign capital what the President of the United States urges as the rights of the people and Government of the United States, what is there back of that?

It is necessary, my fellow citizens, that I should ask you this question, because I do not know how long the mere word and insistence of your Government will prevail to maintain your honor and the dignity and power of the Nation. There may come a time—I pray God it may never come, but it may, in spite of everything we do, come upon us, and come of a sudden—when I shall have to ask: "I have had my say; who stands back of me? Where is the force by which the majesty and right of the United States are to be maintained and asserted?" I take it that there may in your own conviction come a time when that might and force must be vindicated and asserted. You are not willing that what your Government says should be ignored.

I have seen editorials written in more than one part of the United States sneering at the number of notes that were being written from the State Department to foreign Governments, and asking, "Why does not the Government act?" And in those same papers I have seen editorials against the preparation to do anything whatever effective if those notes are not regarded. Is that the temper of the United States? It may be

the temper of some editorial offices, but it is not the temper of the people of the United States.

I came out upon this errand from Washington, and see what happened. Before I started everybody knew what errand I was bound on. I expected to meet quiet audiences and explain to them the issues of the day, and what did I meet? At every stop of the train multitudes of my fellow citizens crowded out, not to see the President of the United States merely—he is not much to look at—but to declare their ardent belief in the majesty of the Government which he stands for and for the time being represents, and to declare in one fashion or another, if it were only by cheers, that they stood ready to do their duty in the hour of need. I have been thrilled by the experiences of these few days, and I shall go back to Washington and smile at anybody who tells me that the United States is not wide awake. But, gentlemen, crowds at the stations, multitudes in great audience halls, cheers for the Government, the display—the ardent display, as from the heart—of the emblem of our Nation, the Stars and Stripes, only express the spirit of the Nation; they do not express the organized force of the Nation. And while I know, and knew before I left Washington, what the spirit of the people was, I have come out to ask them what their organization is and what they intend to make it.

Modern wars are not won by mere numbers. They are not won by mere enthusiasm. They are not won by mere national spirit. They are won by the scientific conduct of war, the scientific application of irresistible force. And what is there behind the President of the United States? Well, in the first place, there is a Navy, which, for my part, I am very proud of; a Navy, which for its numbers, ship by ship, man by man, officer by officer, I believe to be the equal of any navy in the world. But look at the great sweep of our coasts. Mind you, this war has engaged all the rest of the world outside of South America and the portion of North America occupied by the United States, and if this flame begins to creep in on us, it may, my fellow citizens, creep in toward both coasts, and here are thousands upon thousands of miles of coast. Do you know that the great sweep from the canal up the coast to Alaska is something like half the circumference of the world? Do you remember the great reaches of sea from the canal up to the St. Lawrence River? Do you know the bays, the inviting harbors, the great cities which cluster upon those coasts? And do you think that a Navy that ranks only fourth in the world in force is enough to defend the coasts and make secure the territory of a great continent like this?

We have been interested in our Navy for a great many years, and we have been slowly building it up to excellent force, but we have done it piecemeal and a little at a time. There has been a party in Congress that was for a little Navy, as well as a party in Congress that

was for a big Navy, and it seemed to me a sort of theoretical situation as to whether we wanted a Navy to be proud of or not. No nation ought to wish either an Army or Navy to be proud of, to make a display with, to make a toy of. It is the arm of force which must lie back of every sovereignty in the world, and the Navy of the United States must now be as rapidly as possible brought to a state of efficiency and of numerical strength which will make it practically impregnable to the navies of the world. The fighting force of the Navy now is splendid, and I should expect very great achievements from the fine officers and trained men that constitute it, but it is not big enough; it is not numerous enough; it is incomplete. It must be completed, and what the present administration is proposing is that we limit the number of years to five within which we shall complete a definite program which will make that Navy adequate for the defense of both coasts.

But, on land what stands behind the President, if he should have to act in your behalf to enforce the demands of the United States for respect and right? An Army so small that I have not had men enough to patrol the Mexican border. The Mexican border is a very long border, I admit; it runs the whole southern length of Texas and the whole southern length of New Mexico and Arizona besides, and that is a great strip of noble territory. But what is that single border to the whole extent and coast of the United States? I have not had men enough to prevent bandits from raiding across the border of Mexico into the United States. It has been a very mortifying circumstance indeed. I have been tempted to advise Congress to help Texas build up its little force of Texas Rangers; and now, if you please, because I am asking the Congress to give the Government an Army adequate to the uses of peace, to the uses of the moment, some gentlemen go about and prate of military establishments. They see phantoms, they dream dreams. Militarism in the United States springing out of any of the proposals of this administration is—— Why, a man must have a very strong imagination indeed to conceive any such nonsense as that! I am not asking, the administration is not asking, to be backed by any bigger standing Army than is necessary for the uses of the moment, but it is asking this: Do you remember the experiences of the Spanish-American war? That was not much of a war, was it? It did not last very long. You remember the satirical verses that some newspaper man wrote about it—

War is rude and impolite,
It quite upsets a nation;
It's made of several weeks of fight,
And years of conversation.

A war which was parodied in verse! What happened? You sent thousands of men to their death because they were ignorant. They did not get any farther than the camps in Florida. They did not get on

the water even, much less get to Cuba, and they died in the camps like flies, of all sorts of camp diseases, of all sorts of diseases that come from the ignorance of medical science and camp sanitation. Splendid boys, boys fit, with a little training, to make an invincible army, but sent to their death by miserable disease, the soil of which was ignorance, helpless ignorance. Why, the percentage of our loss in that war by disease in the camp was greater than the percentage of the loss of the Japanese by disease and battle together in their war with Russia.

It is a very mortifying thing. There is not any place in the world where medical science is more nobly studied or more adequately applied than in the United States, but we poured crude, ignorant, untrained boys into the ranks of those armies and they died before they got sight of an enemy. Do you want to repeat that? And while that is going on what may happen? What sort of disaster may come to you while you are trying to make an army out of absolutely raw material? Why, it seems almost ridiculous to state how little the present administration is asking for. It is asking that you give it something that is not mere raw material out of which to begin to make an army when it is absolutely necessary to make an army. It is asking that five hundred thousand men be asked to volunteer to take a little training every year for three years, not more than two or three months out of the year, in order that when volunteers are called for in the case of war we may have men, at least five hundred thousand of them, who know something about the use of arms, something about the sanitation of camps, something about the organization and discipline of war in the field and in the trenches. That is all that we are asking for at the present time, and if there is any criticism to be made upon it, it is that it is too little, not too much.

There are men in Congress asking, "Can you get the five hundred thousand men? Will they volunteer?" Why, I believe you could get them out of any one State in the Union. You could almost get five thousand of them out of this audience. But, ladies and gentlemen, do not forget that that is not all there is to this problem. Suppose I knew that back of the insistence of the United States upon its rights was a great navy that ranked first in the world and a body of men trained to arms adequate, at any rate, to fend off any initial disaster to the United States while we were making a greater army ready. That would be only the beginning. There are other things that we have been very much concerned about in Washington and that we are taking steps to attend to. The railroads of this country have never been drawn into the counsels of the Government, never until recently, in such fashion as to make plans for co-ordinating all of them, to transport troops and transport provisions and transport munitions in such a way as to

be the effective arteries of the red blood and energy of the Nation; never until recently, though we are now beginning to do it, for we called the business men and the engineers of the country into counsel to say, "What are the resources of manufacture in this country, and how can we co-ordinate them and put them into co-operation, so that there will be no waste of time, no duplication of effort, and no failure to get every part of the machinery into operation should we need to use them in times of war?" We are taking counsel with regard to that now; but, mark you, the munitions of war are made in this country almost exclusively near the borders of the country, and for the most part upon the Atlantic seaboard, and any initial disaster to the force of the United States might put the greater part of them, if not all of them, in the possession of an enemy. So that you see the circle of my argument leads right back to the necessity for a force of men who can prevent an initial disaster, so that there will be no first failure, no first invasion, no first disaster.

Did you ever hear more momentous things spoken of than these? Did it ever before occur to you that you must put more than the authority of words into the mouths of the men who speak for you? I have been wringing my heart and straining every energy of mind that I have to preserve the honor and integrity and peace of the United States, but think of what must lie at the back of my thought. I know what you want me to do. I would be ashamed if I did not use the utmost powers that are in me to do it. But suppose that some morning I should have to turn to you and say, "Fellow citizens, I have done as much as I can; now I must ask you to back me up with the force of the Nation." And suppose that I should know before I said it that I had not told you what that meant, as I am telling you to-night. Suppose that I had not warned you of what was involved. Suppose that I had not challenged you in a moment of peace to make ready. Do not suppose, however, that I am afraid that it is not going to be done. I would not do the injustice that that implication would involve to the gallant men upon the hill yonder in Washington who make the laws of the Nation. They are going to do a good deal of debating, but they are going to deliver the goods. Do not misunderstand me; I do not mean that I can oblige them to deliver the goods; they are going to deliver the goods because you want them delivered.

I am a believer not only in some of the men who talk, though not all of them, but also in that vast body of my fellow citizens who do not do any talking. I would a great deal rather listen to the still, small voice that comes out of the great body of the Nation than to all the vocal orators in the land. But there are times when I must come out and say, "Do not let the voice be too small and too still"; when I must come out and say, "Fellow citizens, get up on your hind legs and talk

and tell the people who represent you, wherever they are—in your State Capital or in your National Capital—what it is that the Nation desires and demands.” The thing that everybody is listening for in a democracy is the tramp, tramp, tramp of the facts and the people.

Did you ever realize what the force of a democracy is? May I give you a small, whimsical example? A cynical English writer once said that the problem in every nation was how, out of a multitude of knaves, to make an honest people. Now, I, for my part, deny utterly that any nation is a multitude of knaves, but if it were a multitude of knaves as numerous as the people of the United States, you could make an honest nation out of them in this way: They are not all selfishly interested in the same things at the same time; they are going to take care of each other and neutralize each other and inspire one another. Suppose that an audience as great as this surrounded, let us say, a football field, too far away from the field to hear anything that was said out in the middle of the field itself; and suppose two men, dressed in the ordinary street dress and not expected to pummel each other as the players perhaps are, should come out before the players and, standing in the sight of that great multitude, should suddenly fall to blows. You know what would happen. A great outcry would be raised, “Put them out! Put them out!” and there would be universal indignation that they should have so lost their self-possession and forgotten their decency. Now, what happened? Perhaps one of those men said to the other something that nobody would allow another man to say to him without hitting him. Perhaps there was not a man in the whole body of the audience who would not have struck the first blow upon the same provocation. But it was not his provocation. He did not hear what was said; if he did, it was not addressed to him, and he is cool while they are hot.

Now, that is the way to answer the Englishman’s cynical question. This country is so vast, its interests are so various, there are so many competing interests in it, that, while any body of citizens is hot, the vast majority are cool, and the vast majority are going to sit in judgment on the minority and tell them they have got to keep their heads and decide the quarrel in decent fashion. That is the way a democracy works. We are all of us fit to be judges about what is none of our business, and that is the way that great bodies of men come to the most cool-headed judgments. Their passions are not involved, their special interests are not involved; they are looking at the thing with a certain remove, with a certain aloofness of judgment.

I am anxious, therefore, my fellow citizens, that you should look at the hot stuff of war before you touch it; that you should be cool; that you should apply your hard business sense to the proposition, “Shall we be caught unawares and do a scientific job like tyros and igno-

ramuses? Or shall we be ready? Shall we know how to do it, and when it is necessary to do it; shall we do it to the queen's taste?" I know what the answer of America is, but I want it to be unmistakably uttered, and I want it to be uttered now. Because, speaking with all solemnity, I assure you that there is not a day to be lost; not, understand me, because of any new or specially critical matter, but because I can not tell 24 hours at a time whether there is going to be trouble or not. And whether there is or not does not depend upon what I do or what I say, or upon what any man in the United States does or says. It depends upon what foreign governments do; what the commanders of ships at sea do; what those in charge of submarines do; what those who are conducting blockades do. Upon the judgment of a score of men, big and little, hang the vital issues of peace or war for the United States.

This month should not go by without something decisive done by the people of the United States by way of preparation of the arms of self-vindication and defense. My heart burns within me, my fellow citizens, when I think of the importance of this matter and of all that is involved. I am sorry that there should be anybody in the United States who goes about crying out for war. There are such men, but they are irresponsible men, who do a great deal of talking, and they are appealing to some of the most fundamental and dangerous passions of the human heart. And yet they are appealing, it must also be said, to some of the handsomest passions of the human heart. If I see somebody suffering, suffering cruelly, suffering unjustly, and believe that by the exercise of force on my part I can stop the suffering, it is not a low but an exalted passion which leads me to wish to go in and help. And there are men in this country, men by the thousand, who believe that we ought to intervene to stop the intolerable suffering which is involved in some of the processes of this terrible war. Yet I, for my part, am so convinced that we can help better by keeping out of the war, by giving our financial resources to the use of the injured world, by giving our cotton and our woolen stuffs to clothe the world; I am so convinced that the processes of peace are even now the helpful and healing and redeeming forces that I do not see how any man can think that by adding to the number of guns you can decrease the suffering or the tragedy of the world.

There is tragedy abroad in the world, my fellow citizens. We in these peaceful areas of this blessed country go about our daily tasks unmolested and unafraid. It seems very strange that this tragedy should be enacted while we lie so still and peaceful in our own abodes, but the world has never before in the history of mankind seen war upon such a scale, seen war with so many terrible features, seen the sweep of destruction comparable to that which is now devastating the fields

of Europe. We think our own Civil War one of the bloodiest wars in history, but all the suffering of all the four years of that war are as dust in the balance as compared to the losses and sufferings and sacrifices which are being witnessed in Europe and upon the seas to-day. We are witnessing a cataclysm, and God only knows what the issue will be.

See, therefore, the noble part that is assigned to America,—to stand steady, to stand cool, to keep alive all the wholesome processes of peace,—and we who are trustees to repair the world when the damage is done must take counsel with one another how we shall see to it that we shall not be prevented from the efficacious performance of that task. I would not condescend to appeal to your passions. I would be ashamed of myself if I tried to do anything but quiet your judgments. I do not wish you to be any more excited than I am. I am too solemn to be excited. I would not draw a passionate breath for fear I might disturb the nice equipoise of the peace of this part of the world. But, ladies and gentlemen, one cannot help seeing visions, one cannot help realizing what it means to stand for the honor of a great nation like this. You little realize the feeling that it gives me when I see those little flags lifted in the air, and know that every one of them is a symbol of the solemn duty laid upon those selected to represent you in the counsels of the world. And I have come in all solemnity to ask you to sustain the judgment of those who represent you in applying the means, the necessary means, the only means which will make it certain that those great interests may be conserved and cared for.

I am going away from here reassured beyond even the hope that I entertained when I came here; and yet I want to beg of you that you do not let the impressions of this hour die with the hour. Let every man and woman in this place go out of here with the feeling that he must concentrate his influence from this moment until the thing is accomplished upon making certain the security and adequacy of national defense. Because, if America suffer, all the world loses its equipoise. Madness has entered into everything, and that serene flag which we have thrown to the breeze upon so many occasions as the beckoning finger of hope to those who believe in the rights of mankind will itself be stained with the blood of battle, and staggering here and there among its foes will lead men to wonder where the star of America has gone and why America has allowed herself to be embroiled when she might have carried that standard serenely forward to the redemption of the affairs of mankind. I beg of you to stand by your Government with your minds as well as your hearts, and let us redeem America by applying our judgments to the wholesome process of national defense.

[Peace and Preparedness Essential to America; Delivered at the Coliseum, St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 3, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS: I came into the Middle West to find something, and I found it. I was told in Washington that the Middle West had a different feeling from the portions of the country that lie upon either coast, and that it was indifferent to the question of preparation for national defense. I knew enough of the Middle West of this great continent to know that the men who said that did not know what they were talking about. I knew the spirit of America to dwell as much in this great section of the country as in any other section of it, and I knew that the men of these parts loved the honor and safety of America as much as Americans everywhere love it and are ready to stand by it. I did not come out to find out how you felt or what you thought, but to tell you what was going on. I came out in order that there might be an absolute clarification of the issues which are involved in the questions immediately confronting us, because I, for one, have an absolute faith in the readiness of America to act upon the facts just as soon as America knows what the facts are.

The facts are very easily and briefly stated. What is the situation? The situation is that America is at peace with all the world and desires to remain at peace with all the world. And it is not a shallow peace; it is a genuine peace, based upon some of the most fundamental influences of international intercourse. America is at peace with all the world because she entertains a real friendship for all the nations of the world. It is not, as some have mistakenly supposed, a peace based upon self-interest. It is a peace based upon some of the most generous sentiments that characterize the human heart.

You know, my fellow citizens, that this Nation is a composite Nation. It has a genuine friendship for all the nations of the world because it is drawn from all the nations of the world. The blood of all the great national stocks runs, and runs red and strong, in the veins of America, and America understands what the genuine ties of friendship and affection are. It would tear the heartstrings of America to be at war with any of the great nations of the world. Our peace is not a superficial peace. Our peace is not based upon the mere conveniences of our national life. If great issues were involved which it was our honorable obligation to defend, we should not be at peace, but would plunge into any struggle that was necessary in order to defend the honor and integrity of the Nation; but we believe, my fellow citizens, that we can show our friendship for the world and our devotion to the principles of humanity better and more effectively by keeping out of this struggle than by getting into it.

I do not misread the heart of this great country. The heart of this great country is sound, and it is made up of those fundamental prin-

ciples of human sympathy which move all mankind when they are permitted free scope and are not interfered with by the politics of groups of men and the suggestion of those who do not represent the people themselves. I have no indictment against any form of government, but I do not believe in my heart that the world has never witnessed a case, and never will witness a case, where one people desired to make war upon another people, and I believe that the security of America rests in the fact that no man is the master of America; that no man can lead America any whither that her people do not desire to be led. I believe it to be my duty, whatever my individual opinions might be, whatever my individual sympathies, whatever my individual points of view, to subordinate everything to the conscientious attempt to interpret and express in the international affairs of the world the genuine spirit of my fellow citizens.

So far as America is concerned no man need go about amongst us preaching peace. We are disciples of peace already, and no man need preach that gospel amongst us. I, in my individual capacity, am also a disciple of domestic peace and security; but, suppose that my neighbor's house is on fire and my roof is of combustible shingles, is it my fault if the fire eats into the wood, if the flames leap from timber to timber? Is it my fault, because I love peace and security, that my doors are battered in and reckless men make light of the peace and security of my house? The danger is not from within, gentlemen; it is from without, and I am bound to tell you that that danger is constant and immediate, not because anything new has happened, not because there has been any change in our international relationships within recent weeks or months, but because the danger comes with every turn of events. Why, gentlemen, the commanders of submarines have their instructions, and those instructions are consistent for the most part with the law of nations, but one reckless commander of a submarine, choosing to put his private interpretation upon what his government wishes him to do, might set the world on fire. There are not only governments to deal with, but the servants of governments; there are not only the contacts of politics, but also those infinitely varied contacts which come from the mere movement of mankind, the quiet processes of the everyday world. There are cargoes of cotton on the seas; there are cargoes of wheat on the seas; there are cargoes of manufactured articles on the seas; and every one of those cargoes may be the point of ignition, because every cargo goes into the field of fire, goes where there are flames which no man can control.

I know the spirit of America to be this: We respect other nations, and absolutely respect their rights so long as they respect our rights. We do not claim anything for ourselves which they would not in like circumstances claim for themselves. Every statement of right that

we have made is grounded upon the previous utterances of their own public men and their own judges. There is no dispute about the rights of nations under the understandings of international law. America has drawn no fine points. America has raised no novel issue. America has merely asserted the rights of her citizens and her Government upon what is written plain upon all the documents of international intercourse. Therefore America is not selfish in claiming her rights; she is merely standing for the rights of mankind when the life of mankind is being disturbed by an unprecedented war between the greatest nations of the world. Some of these days we shall be able to call the statesmen of the older nations to witness that it was we who kept the quiet flame of international principle burning upon its altars while the winds of passion were sweeping every other altar in the world. Some of these days they will look back with gratification upon the steadfast allegiance of the United States to those principles of action which every man loves when his temper is not upset and his judgment not disturbed.

I am ready to make every patient allowance for men caught in the storm of national struggle. I am not in a critical frame of mind. I am ready to yield everything but the absolute final essential right, because I know how my heart would burn, I know how my mind would be in a whirl if America were engaged in what seemed a death grapple. I know how I would be inclined to sweep aside the minor impediments of the ordinary transactions of government, and how I would be inclined to say to myself: "Why, we are fighting for our lives, and we are not going to be punctilious as to how we are fighting for our lives. Punctilio has nothing to do with it." I am ready to make every allowance for both sides, for, having pledged myself, as your chairman has reminded you, to maintain, if it be possible for me to maintain, the peace of the United States, I have thereby pledged myself to think as far as possible from the point of view of the other side as well as from the point of view of America. I want the record of the conduct of this administration to be a record of genuine neutrality and not of pretended neutrality.

You know the circumstances of the time. You know how one group of belligerents is practically shut off by circumstances over which we have no control from the ordinary commerce of the world. You know, therefore, how the spirit of America has not been able to express itself adequately in both directions. But I believe that the people of America are genuinely neutral. I believe that their desire is to stand in unprejudiced judgment upon what is going on; not that they would arrogate to themselves the right to utter rebuking judgment upon any nation, but that they are holding themselves off to assist neither side in what is wrong, and to countenance both sides in what they are doing for the legitimate defense of their national honor.

The fortunate circumstance of America, my fellow countrymen, is that it desires nothing but a free field and no favor. Our security is in the purity of our motives. The minute we get an impure motive we are going to deserve to be insecure. The minute we desire what we have no right to, then we are going to get into trouble and ought to get into trouble. But, my fellow citizens, while we know our own hearts and know our own desires, it does not follow that other nations and other governments understand our purpose and our principle of action. These are days of infinite prejudice and passion, because they are days of war. It is said by an old maxim that amidst war the law is silent. It is also true that amidst war the judgment is silent. Men press forward towards their object with a certain degree of blind recklessness, and they are apt to excite their passion particularly against those who in any way stand in their way. Therefore, this is the situation that I have come to remind you of, for you need merely to have it stated to see it: The peace of the world, including America, depends upon the aroused passion of other nations and not upon the motives of the United States. It is for that reason that I have come to call you to a consciousness of the necessity for preparing this country for anything that may happen.

Here is the choice, and I do not see how any prudent man could doubt which side of the alternative to take: Either we shall stand still and wait for the necessity for immediate national defense to come and then call for raw volunteers who for the first few months would be impotent as against a trained and experienced enemy, or we shall adopt the ancient American principle that the men of the country shall immediately be made ready to take care of their own Government. You have either got to make the men of this Nation in sufficient number ready to defend the Nation against initial disaster, or you have got to take the risk of initial disaster. Think of the cruelty, think of the stupidity, of putting raw levies of inexperienced men into the modern field of battle! We are not asking for armies; we are asking for a trained citizenship which will act in the spirit of citizenship and not in the spirit of military establishments. If anybody is afraid of a trained citizenship in America he is afraid also of the spirit of America itself. I do not want to command a great army under the authority granted me by the Constitution to be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States; I want to command the confidence and support of my fellow citizens.

Of course you will back me up and come to my assistance if I need you, but will you come knowing what you are about, or will you not? Will you come knowing the character of the arms that you carry in your hands, knowing something of the discipline of organization, knowing something of how to take care of yourselves in camp, knowing

something of all those things that it is necessary to know so as not to throw human life away? It is handsome, my fellow citizens, to sacrifice human life intelligently for something greater than life itself, but it is not handsome for any cause whatever to throw human life away.

The plans now laid before the Congress of the United States are merely plans not to throw the life of American youth away. Those plans are going to be adopted. I am not jealous and you are not jealous of the details; no man ought to be confident that his judgment is correct about the details; no man ought to say to any legislative body, "You must take my plan or none at all"—that is arrogance and stupidity—but we have the right to insist, and I believe that it will not be necessary to insist, that we get the essential thing; that is to say, a principle, a system, by which we can secure a trained citizenship, so that if it becomes necessary to defend the Nation the first line of defense on land will be an adequate and intelligent line of defense.

I say "on land" because America apparently has never been jealous of armed men if they are only at sea. America also knows that you can not send volunteers to sea unless you want to send them to the bottom. The modern fighting ship, the modern submarine, every instrument of modern naval warfare must be handled by experts. America has never debated or disputed that proposition, and all that we are asking for now is that a sufficient number of experts and a sufficient number of vessels be at our disposal. The vessels we have are manned by experts. There is not a better service in the world than that of the American Navy. But no matter how skilled and capable the officers or devoted the men, they must have ships enough, and we are going to give them ships enough. We have been doing it slowly and leisurely and good-naturedly, as we are accustomed to do everything in times of peace, but now we must get down to business and do it systematically. We must lay down a programme and then steadfastly carry it out and complete it. There are no novelties about the programme. All the lines of it are the lines already established, only drawn out to their legitimate conclusion, and drawn out so that they will be completed within a calculable length of time. Do you realize the task of the Navy? Have you ever let your imagination dwell upon the enormous stretch of coast from the Canal to Alaska,—from the Canal to the northern corner of Maine? There is no other navy in the world that has to cover so great an area of defense as the American Navy, and it ought, in my judgment, to be incomparably the most adequate navy in the world.

As I say, you have never been jealous of armed force at sea; you have been jealous of armed force on land; and I must say that I share with you the jealousy of a great military establishment. But I never have shared any prejudice against putting arms in the hands of trained citizens whose interest is to defend their own homes and their own

security, and not to serve any political purpose whatever. There is no politics in national defense, ladies and gentlemen. I would be sorry to see men of different parties differ about anything but the details of this great question; and I do not anticipate any essential differences. Some men do not see anything. Some men look straight in the face of the facts and see nothing but atmospheric air. Some men are so hopelessly and contentedly provincial that they can not see the rest of the world; but they do not constitute a large or influential minority even. You must listen to them with indulgence, and then absolutely ignore them. They have a right to talk, but they have no right to affect our conduct. Indeed, if I were in your place I would encourage them to talk. Nothing chills folly like exposure to the air, and these gentlemen ought to be encouraged to hire large halls, and the more people they can get to hear them the safer the country will be.

The judgment of America is a very hard-headed judgment. The judgment of America is not based upon sentiment; it is based upon facts, and I want to say to you that nothing has encouraged me more upon this trip that I have been making than the consciousness that America is awake to the facts. I do not want to say anything disrespectful about any newspaper, but it is astonishing how little some newspaper editors know, and I would like from some of them a candid expression of the impression they have got from what has happened since I left Washington. They probably will give it their own interpretation, but they will not (and this ought to comfort them if they are moral men), they will not deceive anybody. From the time I left Washington until now I have just had this feeling: The country is up; there is not a man who is not awake; there is not a man who does not realize what the situation is and what we ought to do in order to meet the situation.

The strength of America is in that part of it which is not vocal. The voice of America is a very still but a very powerful voice. My constant endeavor in Washington is to hear that voice. I have often said that it has seemed to me a very fortunate circumstance that all the living rooms of the White House are on the side from which, if you look out of the windows, you can not see the city of Washington. You see instead the broad spaces of Virginia across the river, and your imagination has free flight from those free spaces to those great stretches of country where the quiet people on the farms and the busy people in the factories and the absorbed men in the offices are realizing and living the life of America; and from out those great national areas the people seem to send in at those southern windows of the Executive Mansion their message of reassurance. That is where I listen for the still voice of America, and I believe that that voice has brought to me in unmissed accents the resolution of this country to do whatever it is ade-

quate and necessary to do in order that no man might question the honor or invade the integrity or disregard the rights of the United States of America.

[Preparation for Peace and War; Delivered before the Business Men's League of St. Louis, Jefferson Hotel, Feb. 3, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I can not stand here without remembering the last time that I had the pleasure of standing in this spot. Your Civic League had paid me the compliment of supposing that I knew something about the government of cities, and I undertook at their invitation to be very instructive and to lead you in the way in which you should go with regard to a new charter for the city of St. Louis. I hope that you have forgotten that speech. I say I hope that you have forgotten it because I had forgotten it myself until somebody unexpectedly produced a copy of it and cited opinions in it from some of which I had departed. It is just as well to shed your speeches as you go.

As I think of the trip that I am now making my own chief regret about it is the number of speeches with which I am expected to be loaded so that I can go off at any time; and yet I am expected to speak exclusively of the preparation of the Nation for national defense, and, of course, I do that with a great deal of ardor and zest, because that is the most pressing and immediate question ahead of us. One must first emphasize the things which admit of no delay, and yet there are many things that I would like to talk to a company like this about. Not only is it necessary that we should prepare, gentlemen, to mobilize the forces of the Nation if necessary for the defense of the country,—if it should, unhappily, become necessary to use them for that purpose,—but it is also necessary to mobilize the economic forces of this country better than they have ever been mobilized before for the service of the world after this great war is over.

I am not looking forward to war; I am looking forward with the greatest ardor and interest to peace and to the services which this country may render the rest of the world in the times of peace and healing and restoration which will undoubtedly follow this great struggle. On the surface, gentlemen, there are many signs of bitterness and passion, but only on the surface. Men who are in contest with one another can sometimes hate one another, but no great people ever hated another great people. I believe that underlying all the contests of the world there is a true instinct of friendship among the peoples of the world, provided that the contests are righteous contests based upon merit and efficiency and not based upon the seeking of unfair advantage. America will be infinitely efficient in the world of business if she is punctiliously righteous in the field of business, and it is

with the greatest interest and hope that I have seen the many movements abroad in this country, movements which may be illustrated by one, though that not the chief one.

You know how the advertising men of this country have banded themselves together to see that advertisements speak the truth. Now, that is an index of what is happening in America. We have upon some occasions drawn it a little strong with regard to our individual business; now we are beginning to realize that the real efficacy is in the facts as they are, because they are going to be uncovered sooner or later anyhow in the process of business. You can not sell a thing that is not what you represent it to be without your customers ultimately finding out that it is not what you represent it to be. So that even upon an instinct of preservation, if you put it upon no higher plane, you had better anticipate the facts when you see them coming and not get caught by them. The truth is stronger and mightier than any other influence in the world in the long run.

America is now going to be called out into an international position such as she has never occupied before. For some reason that I have never understood, America has been shy about going out into the great field of international competition. She has sought by one process or another, incomprehensible to me as a policy, to shut her doors against matching the wits of America with the wits of the world. I am willing to match the business capacity and the moral strength of American business men, and to back them, against all the world.

We have left it until very recently to foreign corporations to conduct the greater part of the banking business in foreign bills of exchange. We have seemed to hold off from handling the very machinery by which we are to serve the rest of the world by our commerce and our industry. And now, with the rest of the world impaired in its economic efficiency, it is necessary that we should put ourselves at the service of trade and finance in all parts of the world. That is one of the reasons, gentlemen, why we are trying—trying so diligently; trying so patiently—to avoid being drawn into this great struggle now going on on the other side of the sea. We must keep our resources and our thoughts and our strength untouched by that flame in order that they may be in a condition to serve the restoration of the world, the healing processes, the processes which will put the world upon a footing of peace, which, in the providence of God, we all pray may last for many a generation after. The world will not endure, I believe, another struggle like that which is going on now. It can not endure it. The heart of man can not stand it. And I believe that after this war is over we shall have been set further forward toward permanent peace than perhaps any other process would have set us.

Man is slow to learn; he has to have it burned in; but when it is burned in the lesson is finally comprehended.

I believe that the message which all men such as sit in this room to-day ought to carry at their hearts is the message of preparation for peace. Unhappily, you have to tread another way to approach that preparation. Unhappily, the conditions of peace are not established by us but established by the rest of the world. We do not have to defend ourselves against ourselves; we may have to defend ourselves against the invasion of those processes of passion which are now shaking the whole round globe with their disturbance. We must be ready to see that America shall remain untouched, because America is too valuable to the world now to allow herself to be touched by this disturbance.

When we have settled this great question, as we shall presently settle it, of reasonable and rational and American preparation for national defense, then we shall talk about these other matters. Then we shall set our house in order. Then we shall see the facts and act upon the facts. That is the reason that some of us have had to change our minds about certain things, gentlemen. I have changed my mind, for example, about the advisability of having a tariff board, and I have done it for this reason: Before this war began and the universal sweep of economic change set in, I believed, and I think I was justified in believing, that a tariff board was meant merely to keep alive the question of protection. Now the sweep of this change has been so universal that an unprejudiced, nonpartisan board is absolutely necessary in order to find how far and in what way the facts have been changed. Because we can not pretend that any man now living can predict or foresee or guide the policy of the United States with regard to her legislation in economic matters. We need the facts, and we need them from the most unprejudiced and undisturbed quarters that we can get them from.

Personally I look forward to the establishment of a tariff board with some misgivings, because I will have to choose the men that make it; and I tell you that men without prepossessions are hard to find, and when you find them they are generally empty of everything else. Gentlemen who have not done a lot of thinking and formed some very definite convictions are not very serviceable in public affairs; and, knowing that I have my due quota of prejudices and prepossessions myself and that I hold even my untested convictions in fighting spirit, I am not sure that I would be a suitable member of a tariff board. Yet I shall have to choose suitable members for a tariff board, for I feel great confidence that we shall have one, and I want the best counsel I can get; I want the best guidance I can get in the choosing of the men who shall make it up. If I make mistakes, they will not be mistakes

of intention but mistakes of lack of information. It is very interesting how important men feel after they get put on a federal board. They are thereafter hardly approachable. They are jealous of nothing so much as being spoken to too familiarly by the President, who seems to be regarded as some sort of suspicious political influence. You do not know how interesting it is, gentlemen, to be regarded as the positive pole of a political battery, throwing out all sorts of electrifying influences which are supposed to be meant to increase the vitality of Democratic politics. I do not think that Democratic politics needs any increase of vitality.

You will see that I am merely uttering to you the casual thoughts of an unprepared address, but it always stimulates me to say some of the things that are in my mind in face of a company like this. I have been in St. Louis so often and have always enjoyed my visits here so much, that I have had the pleasure of making a great many friends here. When I arrived in Kansas City the other day, the reception committee said, "Mr. President, this is your fifth visit here." "Yes," I said, "my fifth visit since you began counting." And I made a good many visits to St. Louis before you began counting; sometimes merely as a Princeton man interested in the Princeton crowd, and sometimes upon purely private errands, but always with the renewed pleasure of meeting the substantial and thoughtful men who here vitalize the life of the business world of America.

There is one thing, gentlemen, I want you to relieve yourselves of, and that is the suspicion that there is a Middle West as distinguished from the rest of America. As I say, I have sampled your quality a great many times and I have never found your quality to be anything but thoroughly American, suitable for any part of the continent. The distance between you and the Pacific coast or the Atlantic coast is not a distance that segregates you or makes you different in sympathy and in impulse; on the contrary, standing somewhat nearer the middle of the continent than some other people, your horizon is the more symmetrical.

I have come out to appeal to America, not because I doubted what America felt, but because I thought America wanted the satisfaction of uttering what she felt and of letting the whole world know that she was a unit in respect of every question of national dignity and national safety.

[Sounding Public Opinion; Delivered at National Press Club, Washington, D. C., May 15, 1916.]

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS CLUB: I am both glad and sorry to be here; glad because I am always happy to be with you, and know and like so many of you, and sorry because I have to make a speech. One of the leading faults of you gentlemen

of the press is your inordinate desire to hear other men talk, to draw them out upon all occasions. whether they wish to be drawn out or not. I remember being in this Press Club once before, making many unpremeditated disclosures of myself, and then having you with your singular instinct for publicity insist that I should give it away to everybody else.

I was thinking as I was looking forward to coming here this evening of that other occasion when I stood very nearly at the threshold of the duties that I have since been called upon to perform, and I was going over in my mind the impressions that I then had by way of forecast of the duties of President and comparing them with the experiences that have followed. I must say that the forecast has been very largely verified, and that the impressions I had then have been deepened rather than weakened.

You may recall that I said then that I felt constantly a personal detachment from the Presidency; that one thing that I resented when I was not performing the duties of the office was being reminded that I was the President of the United States. I felt toward it as a man feels toward a great function which, in working hours, he is obliged to perform. but which, out of working hours, he is glad to get away from and almost forget and resume the quiet course of his own thoughts. I am constantly reminded as I go about, as I do sometimes at the week end, of the personal inconvenience of being President of the United States. If I want to know how many people live in a small town all I have to do is to go there and they at once line up to be counted. I might, in a census-taking year, save the census takers a great deal of trouble by asking them to accompany me and count the people on the spot. Sometimes, when I am most beset, I seriously think of renting a pair of whiskers or of doing something else that will furnish me with an adequate disguise because I am sorry to find that the cut of my jib is unmistakable and that I must sail under false colors if I am going to sail incognito.

Yet as I have matched my experiences with my anticipations, I, of course, have been aware that I was taken by surprise because of the prominence of many things to which I had not looked forward. When we are dealing with domestic affairs, gentlemen, we are dealing with things that to us as Americans are more or less calculable. There is a singular variety among our citizenship, it is true, a greater variety even than I had anticipated; but, after all, we are all steeped in the same atmosphere, we are all surrounded by the same environment, we are all more or less affected by the same traditions, and, moreover, we are working out something that has to be worked out among ourselves, and the elements are there to be dealt with at first hand. But when the fortunes of your own country are, so to say, subject

to the incalculable winds of passion that are blowing through other parts of the world, then the strain is of a singular and unprecedented kind, because you do not know by what turn of the wheel of fortune the control of things is going to be taken out of your hand; it makes no difference how deep the passion of the Nation lies, that passion may be so overborne by the rush of fortune in circumstances like those which now exist that you feel the sort of—I had almost said resentment that a man feels when his own affairs are not within his own hands. You can imagine the strain upon the feeling of any man who is trying to interpret the spirit of his country when he feels that that spirit can not have its own way beyond a certain point. And one of the greatest points of strain upon me, if I may be permitted to point it out, was this:

There are two reasons why the chief wish of America is for peace. One is that they love peace and have nothing to do with the present quarrel; and the other is that they believe the present quarrel has carried those engaged in it so far that they can not be held to ordinary standards of responsibility, and that, therefore, as some men have expressed it to me, since the rest of the world is mad, why should we not simply refuse to have anything to do with the rest of the world in the ordinary channels of action? Why not let the storm pass, and then, when it is all over, have the reckonings? Knowing that from both these two points of view the passion of America was for peace, I was, nevertheless, aware that America is one of the Nations of the world, not only, but one of the chief Nations of the world—a Nation that grows more and more powerful almost in spite of herself; that grows morally more and more influential even when she is not aware of it; and that if she is to play the part which she most covets, it is necessary that she should act more or less from the point of view of the rest of the world. If I can not retain my moral influence over a man except by occasionally knocking him down, if that is the only basis upon which he will respect me, then for the sake of his soul I have got occasionally to knock him down. You know how we have read in—isn't it in Ralph Connor's stories of western life in Canada?—that all his sky pilots are ready for a fracas at any time, and how the ultimate salvation of the souls of their parishioners depends upon their using their fists occasionally. If a man will not listen to you quietly in a seat, sit on his neck and make him listen; just as I have always maintained, particularly in view of certain experiences of mine, that the shortest road to a boy's moral sense is through his cuticle. There is a direct and, if I may be permitted the pun, a fundamental connection between the surface of his skin and his moral consciousness. You arrest his attention first in that way, and then

get the moral lesson conveyed to him in milder ways that, if he were grown up, would be the only ways you would use.

So I say that I have been aware that in order to do the very thing that we are proudest of the ability to do, there might come a time when we would have to do it in a way that we would prefer not to do it; and the great burden on my spirits, gentlemen, has been that it has been up to me to choose when that time came. Can you imagine a thing more calculated to keep a man awake at nights than that? Because, just because I did not feel that I was the whole thing and was aware that my duty was a duty of interpretation, how could I be sure that I had the right elements of information by which to interpret truly?

What we are now talking about is largely spiritual. You say, "All the people out my way think so and so." Now, I know perfectly well that you have not talked with all the people out your way. I find that out again and again. And so you are taken by surprise. The people of the United States are not asking anybody's leave to do their own thinking, and are not asking anybody to tip them off what they ought to think. They are thinking for themselves, every man for himself; and you do not know, and, the worst of it is, since the responsibility is mine, I do not know what they are thinking about. I have the most imperfect means of finding out, and yet I have got to act as if I knew. That is the burden of it, and I tell you, gentlemen, it is a pretty serious burden, particularly if you look upon the office as I do—that I am not put here to do what I please. If I were, it would have been very much more interesting than it has been. I am put here to interpret, to register, to suggest, and, more than that, and much greater than that, to be suggested to.

Now, that is where the experience that I forecast has differed from the experience that I have had. In domestic matters I think I can in most cases come pretty near a guess where the thought of America is going, but in foreign affairs the chief element is where action is going on in other quarters of the world and not where thought is going in the United States. Therefore, I have several times taken the liberty of urging upon you gentlemen not yourselves to know more than the State Department knows about foreign affairs. Some of you have shown a singular range of omniscience, and certain things have been reported as understood in administrative circles which I never heard of until I read the newspapers. I am constantly taken by surprise in regard to decisions which are said to be my own, and this gives me an uncomfortable feeling that some providence is at work with which I have had no communication at all. Now, that is pretty dangerous, gentlemen, because it happens that remarks start fires. There is tinder lying everywhere, not only on the other side of the

water, but on this side of the water, and a man that spreads sparks may be responsible for something a great deal worse than burning a town on the Mexican border. Thoughts may be bandits. Thoughts may be raiders. Thoughts may be invaders. Thoughts may be disturbers of international peace; and when you reflect upon the importance of this country keeping out of the present war, you will know what tremendous elements we are all dealing with. We are all in the same boat. If somebody does not keep the processes of peace going, if somebody does not keep their passions disengaged, by what impartial judgment and suggestion is the world to be aided to a solution when the whole thing is over? If you are in a conference in which you know nobody is disinterested, how are you going to make a plan? I tell you this gentlemen, the only thing that saves the world is the little handful of disinterested men that are in it.

Now, I have found a few disinterested men. I wish I had found more. I can name two or three men with whom I have conferred again and again and again, and I have never caught them by an inadvertence thinking about themselves for their own interests, and I tie to those men as you would tie to an anchor. I tie to them as you would tie to the voices of conscience if you could be sure that you always heard them. Men who have no axes to grind! Men who love America so that they would give their lives for it and never care whether anybody heard that they had given their lives for it; willing to die in obscurity if only they might serve! Those are the men, and nations like those men are the nations that are going to serve the world and save it. There never was a time in the history of the world when character, just sheer character all by itself, told more than it does now. A friend of mine says that every man who takes office in Washington either grows or swells, and when I give a man an office, I watch him carefully to see whether he is swelling or growing. The mischief of it is that when they swell they do not swell enough to burst. If they would only swell to the point where you might insert a pin and let the gases out, it would be a great delight. I do not know any pastime that would be more diverting, except that the gases are probably poisonous so that we would have to stand from under. But the men who grow, the men who think better a year after they are put in office than they thought when they were put in office, are the balance wheel of the whole thing. They are the ballast that enables the craft to carry sail and to make port in the long run, no matter what the weather is.

So I have come willing to make this narrative of experience to you. I have come through the fire since I talked to you last. Whether the metal is purer than it was, God only knows; but the fire has been there, the fire has penetrated every part of it, and if I may believe my own

thoughts I have less partisan feeling, more impatience of party maneuver, more enthusiasm for the right thing, no matter whom it hurts, than I ever had before in my life. And I have something that it is no doubt dangerous to have, but that I can not help having. I have a profound intellectual contempt for men who can not see the signs of the times. I have to deal with some men who know no more of the modern processes of politics than if they were living in the eighteenth century, and for them I have a profound and comprehensive intellectual contempt. They are blind. They are hopelessly blind; and the worst of it is I have to spend hours of my time talking to them when I know before I start as much as after I have finished that it is absolutely useless to talk to them. I am talking *in vacuo*.

The business of every one of us, gentlemen, is to realize that if we are correspondents of papers who have not yet heard of modern times we ought to send them as many intimations of modern movements as they are willing to print. There is a simile that was used by a very interesting English writer that has been much in my mind. Like myself, he had often been urged not to try to change so many things. I remember when I was president of a university a man said to me, "Good heavens, man, why don't you leave something alone and let it stay the way it is?" And I said, "If you will guarantee to me that it will stay the way it is I will let it alone; but if you knew anything you would know that if you leave a live thing alone it will not stay where it is. It will develop and will either go in the wrong direction or decay." I reminded him of this thing that the English writer said, that if you want to keep a white post white you can not let it alone. It will get black. You have to keep doing something to it. In that instance you have got to keep painting it white, and you have got to paint it white very frequently in order to keep it white, because there are forces at work that will get the better of you. Not only will it turn black, but the forces of moisture and the other forces of nature will penetrate the white paint and get at the fiber of the wood, and decay will set in, and the next time you try to paint it you will find that there is nothing but punk to paint. Then you will remember the Red Queen in "Alice in Wonderland," or "Alice Through the Looking Glass"—I forget which, it has been so long since I read them—who takes Alice by the hand and they rush along at a great pace, and then when they stop Alice looks around and says, "But we are just where we were when we started." "Yes," says the Red Queen, "you have to run twice as fast as that to get anywhere else."

That is also true, gentlemen, of the world and of affairs. You have got to run fast merely to stay where you are, and in order to get anywhere, you have got to run twice as fast as that. That is what people do not realize. That is the mischief of these hopeless dams

against the stream known as reactionaries and standpatters, and other words of obloquy. That is what is the matter with them; they are not even staying where they were. They are sinking further and further back in what will some time comfortably close over their heads as the black waters of oblivion. I sometimes imagine that I see their heads going down, and I am not inclined even to throw them a life preserver. The sooner they disappear, the better. We need their places for people who are awake; and we particularly need now, gentlemen, men who will divest themselves of party passion and of personal preference and will try to think in the terms of America. If a man describes himself to me now in any other terms than those terms, I am not sure of him; and I love the fellows that come into my office sometimes and say, "Mr. President, I am an American." Their hearts are right, their instinct true, they are going in the right direction, and will take the right leadership if they believe that the leader is also a man who thinks first of America.

You will see, gentlemen, that I did not premeditate these remarks, or they would have had some connection with each other. They would have had some plan. I have merely given myself the pleasure of telling you what has really been in my heart, and not only has been in my heart but is in my heart every day of the week. If I did not go off at week ends occasionally and throw off, as much as it is possible to throw off, this burden, I could not stand it. This week I went down the Potomac and up the James and substituted history for politics, and there was an infinite, sweet calm in some of those old places that reminded me of the records that were made in the days that are past; and I comforted myself with the recollection that the men we remember are the disinterested men who gave us the deeds that have covered the name of America all over with the luster of imperishable glory.

[League to Enforce Peace, Attitude of the United States Discussed at Meeting in Washington, May 27, 1916.]

When the invitation to be here to-night came to me, I was glad to accept it,—not because it offered me an opportunity to discuss the programme of the League,—that you will, I am sure, not expect of me,—but because the desire of the whole world now turns eagerly, more and more eagerly, towards the hope of peace, and there is just reason why we should take our part in counsel upon this great theme. It is right that I, as spokesman of our Government, should attempt to give expression to what I believe to be the thought and purpose of the people of the United States in this vital matter.

This great war that broke so suddenly upon the world two years ago, and which has swept within its flame so great a part of the civilized world, has affected us very profoundly, and we are not only

at liberty, it is perhaps our duty, to speak very frankly of it and of the great interests of civilization which it affects.

With its causes and its objects we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore. But so great a flood, spread far and wide to every quarter of the globe, has of necessity engulfed many a fair province of right that lies very near to us. Our own rights as a Nation, the liberties, the privileges, and the property of our people have been profoundly affected. We are not mere disconnected lookers-on. The longer the war lasts, the more deeply do we become concerned that it should be brought to an end and the world be permitted to resume its normal life and course again. And when it does come to an end we shall be as much concerned as the nations at war to see peace assume an aspect of permanence, give promise of days from which the anxiety of uncertainty shall be lifted, bring some assurance that peace and war shall always hereafter be reckoned part of the common interest of mankind. We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia.

One observation on the causes of the present war we are at liberty to make, and to make it may throw some light forward upon the future, as well as backward upon the past. It is plain that this war could have come only as it did, suddenly and out of secret counsels, without warning to the world, without discussion, without any of the deliberate movements of counsel with which it would seem natural to approach so stupendous a contest. It is probable that if it had been foreseen just what would happen, just what alliances would be formed, just what forces arrayed against one another, those who brought the great contest on would have been glad to substitute conference for force. If we ourselves had been afforded some opportunity to apprise the belligerents of the attitude which it would be our duty to take, of the policies and practices against which we would feel bound to use all our moral and economic strength, and in certain circumstances even our physical strength also, our own contribution to the counsel which might have averted the struggle would have been considered worth weighing and regarding.

And the lesson which the shock of being taken by surprise in a matter so deeply vital to all the nations of the world has made poignantly clear is, that the peace of the world must henceforth depend upon a new and more wholesome diplomacy. Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some

feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established. It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honor that we demand of individuals.

We must, indeed, in the very same breath with which we avow this conviction admit that we have ourselves upon occasion in the past been offenders against the law of diplomacy which we thus forecast; but our conviction is not the less clear, but rather the more clear, on that account. If this war has accomplished nothing else for the benefit of the world, it has at least disclosed a great moral necessity and set forward the thinking of the statesmen of the world by a whole age. Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this, that the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind. The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other, it is imperative that they should agree to co-operate in a common cause, and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice.

This is undoubtedly the thought of America. This is what we ourselves will say when there comes proper occasion to say it. In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America.

We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action. Second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And, third, that the world

has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others which will check any selfish passion of our own, as it will check any aggressive impulse of theirs.

If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or initiate a movement for peace among the nations now at war, I am sure that the people of the United States would wish their Government to move along these lines: First, such a settlement with regard to their own immediate interests as the belligerents may agree upon. We have nothing material of any kind to ask for ourselves, and are quite aware that we are in no sense or degree parties to the present quarrel. Our interest is only in peace and its future guarantees. Second, an universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world,—a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence.

But I did not come here, let me repeat, to discuss a programme. I came only to avow a creed and give expression to the confidence I feel that the world is even now upon the eve of a great consummation, when some common force will be brought into existence which shall safeguard right as the first and most fundamental interest of all peoples and all governments, when coercion shall be summoned not to the service of political ambition or selfish hostility, but to the service of a common order, a common justice, and a common peace. God grant that the dawn of that day of frank dealing and of settled peace, concord, and co-operation may be near at hand!

[Truth and Fairness the Ideals of the Nation; Delivered before the Associated Advertising Clubs in Philadelphia, Pa., June 29, 1916.]

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSOCIATED ADVERTISING CLUBS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: You will understand that I have not come here to make an extended address. I do not need to explain to you the circumstances which have made it impossible that I should prepare an extended address, but I count myself very fortunate to be able to leave my duties at Washington long enough to face this inter-

esting company of men who have the very fine conception that it is their duty to lift the standards and ideals of their profession.

I understand, gentlemen, that you have associated yourselves together in order to promote candor and truth in the advertisement of your business. I wish very much, gentlemen, that candor and truth might always be the standard of politics as well as the standard of business. I want to challenge your attention for a moment to this aspect of your activities. I do not see how a man can devote himself to candor and truth in the promotion of a particular business without studying the life of the great nation to whom he addresses his advertising. I do not see how a man can fail, having established the horizon of his business where the great hills of truth lie, to lift his eyes to the great multitude of laboring men and striving women who constitute a great nation like ours, and in the very act of addressing them get in his own consciousness some part of the impulse of their life. You can not commend your business to people that you do not understand, and you can not understand the people of the United States without wishing to serve them.

So I come to you with this thought: America is at a point, gentlemen, where it is more than ever necessary that she should understand her own ideals not only, but be ready to put them into action at any cost. It is one thing to entertain fine principles and another thing to make them work. It is one thing to entertain them in the formulæ of words like the splendid words which were uttered and gave distinction to this ancient and historic building behind me, but it is another thing to do what those same men did, make those words live in the action of their lives. And America is summoned in each new generation to renew not only the pledges that those men made, but to renew the example which they gave to the world.

I am not interested, and I beg that you will believe me when I say that I never have been interested, in fighting for myself, but I am immensely interested in fighting for the things that I believe in, and so far as they are concerned I am a challenger to all comers. It is important, therefore, since I am in fighting mood, to let you know what are some of the things that I do believe in.

In the first place, I believe, and I summon you to show your belief in the same thing, that it is the duty of every American in everything that he does, in his business and out of it, to think first, not of himself or of any interest which he may be called upon to sacrifice, but of the country which we serve. "America first" means nothing until you translate it into what you do. So I believe most profoundly in the duty of every American to exalt the national consciousness by purifying his own motives and exhibiting his own devotion.

I believe, in the second place, that America, the country that we put

first in our thoughts, should be ready in every point of policy and of action to vindicate at whatever cost the principles of liberty, of justice, and of humanity to which we have been devoted from the first. [Cheers.] You cheer the sentiment, but do you realize what it means? It means that you have not only got to be just to your fellow men, but that as a nation you have got to be just to other nations. It comes high. It is not an easy thing to do. It is easy to think first of the material interest of America, but it is not easy to think first of what America, if she loves justice, ought to do in the field of international affairs. I believe that at whatever cost America should be just to other peoples and treat other peoples as she demands that they should treat her. She has a right to demand that they treat her with justice and respect, and she has a right to insist that they treat her in that fashion, but she can not with dignity or with self-respect insist upon that unless she is willing to act in the same fashion toward them. That I am ready to fight for at any cost to myself.

Then, in the third place, touching ourselves more intimately, my fellow citizens, this is what I believe: If I understand the life of America, the central principle of it is this, that no small body of persons, no matter how influential, shall be trusted to determine the policy and development of America. You know what you want in your business. You want a fair field and no favor. You want to be given the same opportunity that other men have, not only to make known what you have to sell, but to sell it under as favorable conditions as anybody else. The principle of the life of America is that she draws her vitality, not from small bodies of men who may wish to assume the responsibility of guiding and controlling her, but from the great body of thinking and toiling and planning men from whom she draws her energy and vitality as a nation. I believe, and this is the reason I am a Democrat, not merely with a big "D" but with a little "d"—I am all kinds of a democrat, so far as I can discover—but the root of the whole business is this, that I believe in the patriotism and energy and initiative of the average man. Some men say they believe in it, but when they act, they show that they do not. They show that they think the only advice that it is safe to take is their advice. [Voice in crowd: "Oh, you Teddy!"]

I was not referring to any individual, but I could give you an interesting and a very short list of a group of individuals who have that opinion, namely, that it is not safe for the United States to escape from their control. I feel perfectly safe in the hands of the average body of my fellow citizens. You are bound to feel safe in their hands. If they do not believe in you, you can not sell anything. If they do not believe in you, you can not conduct your business. Your vitality comes from them to you; it does not go from you to them. The

theory of government which I decline to subscribe to is that the vitality of the nation comes out of closeted councils where a few men determine the policy of the country.

So, gentlemen, I feel at home in this company, not because I advertise, but because I have got principles that I am perfectly willing to expose to the public view, and because I want to express my sympathy with, not only, but my admiration for a body of men who think it is worth while to get together in order to tell the truth. The only thing that ever set any man free, the only thing that ever set any nation free, is the truth. A man that is afraid of the truth is afraid of the law of life. A man that does not love the truth is in the way of decay and of failure, and I believe that if you will just let the vitality that is in you and the enthusiasm that is in you run beyond the confines of the businesses that you may be interested in, you will presently feel that infinite reward, as if the red blood of a whole nation came surging back into your own veins.

Can you imagine, my fellow countrymen, a more inspiring thing than to belong to a free nation and make your way among men everyone of whom has the right and the opportunity to say what he thinks. Criticism does not hurt anybody. I heard an old politician once say to his son, "John, don't bother your head about lies and slanders; they will take care of themselves, but if you ever hear me denying anything, you may make up your mind that it is so." When you see a man wincing under criticism, you may know that something hit him that was so. And, therefore, when they are saying the things that are not true, there is no credit in keeping your head and not minding it. I have such an inveterate confidence in the ultimate triumph of the truth that I feel, with old Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes, that the truth is no invalid, and you need not mind how roughly you handle her. She has got a splendid constitution and she will survive every trial and every labor.

I have come, therefore, as I have abundantly shown you, not to make a formal speech—if I could show you some of the things I have been obliged to do before I came here, you would know that I could not possibly make up a speech—but merely to show my profound interest in a body of men who are not only devoted to business but devoted to ideals. Business is all right so long as it is not sordid, and it can not be sordid if it is shot through with ideals. A man, no matter how humble his business, can hold his head up among the princes of the world if, as they ought to do, he will think of himself as the servant of the people and not as their master, as one who would serve and not as one who would govern.

I congratulate you, my fellow citizens, upon the ideals of a profession which can lower or exalt business, as you choose, and which

you have chosen to employ for its exaltation. I came away from Washington to look into your faces and get some of the enthusiasm which I always get when I come away from officialdom and touch hand to hand with great bodies of the free American people.

[Moral Force a Power in Shaping History; Delivered before the Press Club in New York City, June 30, 1916.]

I realize that I have done a very imprudent thing; I have come to address this thoughtful company of men without any preparation whatever. If I could have written as witty a speech as Mr. Pulitzer, I would have written it. If I could have written as clear an enunciation of the fundamental ideals of American patriotism as the mayor, I should have attempted it. If I could have been as appealing a person and of as feeling a heart as Mr. Cobb, I would have felt safe.

If I could have been as generous and interesting and genuine as Mr. Colby, I should have felt that I could let myself go without any preparation. But, gentlemen, as a matter of fact, I have been absorbed by the responsibilities which have been so frequently referred to here to-night, and that preoccupation has made it impossible for me to forecast even what you would like to hear me talk about.

There is something very oddly contradictory about the effect you men have on me. You are sometimes, particularly in your photographic enterprises, very brutal to me, and you sometimes invade my privacy, even to the extent of formulating my judgments before they are formed, and yet I am tempted when I stand face to face with you to take off all guard and merely expose myself to you as the fallible human being that I am.

Mr. Colby said something that was among the few things I had forecast to say myself. He said that there are certain things which really it is useless to debate, because they go as a matter of course.

Of course it is our duty to prepare this Nation to take care of its honor and of its institutions. Why debate any part of that, except the detail, except the plan itself, which is always debatable?

Of course it is the duty of the Government, which it will never overlook, to defend the territory and people of this country. It goes without saying that it is the duty of the administration to have constantly in mind with the utmost sensitiveness every point of national honor. But, gentlemen, after you have said and accepted these obvious things your program of action is still to be formed. When will you act and how will you act? The easiest thing is to strike. The brutal thing is the impulsive thing. No man has to think before he takes aggressive action; but before a man really conserves the honor by realizing the ideals of the Nation he has to think exactly what he will do and how he will do it.

Do you think the glory of America would be enhanced by a war of

conquest in Mexico? Do you think that any act of violence by a powerful nation like this against a weak and distracted neighbor would reflect distinction upon the annals of the United States? Do you think that it is our duty to carry self-defense to the point of dictation in the affairs of another people? The ideals of America are written plain upon every page of American history. And I want you to know how fully I realize whose servant I am. I do not own the Government of the United States, even for the time being. I have no right in the use of it to express my own passions.

I have no right to express my own ambitions for the development of America if those ambitions are not coincident with the ambitions of the Nation itself. And I have constantly to remind myself that I am not the servant of those who wish to enhance the value of their Mexican investments, but that I am the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States.

I get a great many letters, my fellow citizens, from important and influential men in this country, but I get a great many other letters. I get letters from unknown men, from humble women, from people whose names have never been heard and will never be recorded, and there is but one prayer in all of these letters: "Mr. President, do not allow anybody to persuade you that the people of this country want war with anybody." I got off a train yesterday, and as I was bidding good-by to the engineer he said, in an undertone, "Mr. President, keep out of Mexico." And if one man has said that to me a thousand have said it to me as I have moved about the country. If I have opportunity to engage them further in conversation, they say, "Of course, we know that you can not govern the circumstances of the case altogether, and it may be necessary; but for God's sake do not do it unless it is necessary." I am for the time being the spokesman of such people, gentlemen. I have not read history without observing that the greatest forces in the world and the only permanent forces are the moral forces. We have the evidence of a very competent witness, namely, the first Napoleon, who said that as he looked back in the last days of his life upon so much as he knew of human history he had to record the judgment that force had never accomplished anything that was permanent. Force will not accomplish anything that is permanent, I venture to say, in the great struggle which is now going on on the other side of the sea. The permanent things will be accomplished afterwards, when the opinion of mankind is brought to bear upon the issues, and the only thing that will hold the world steady is this same silent, insistent, all-powerful opinion of mankind. Force can sometimes hold things steady until opinion has time to form, but no force that was ever exerted, except in response to that opinion, was ever a conquering and predominant force.

I think the sentence in American history that I myself am proudest of is that in the introductory sentences of the Declaration of Independence, where the writers say that a due respect for the opinion of mankind demands that they state the reasons for what they are about to do. I venture to say that a decent respect for the opinion of mankind demanded that those who started the present European war should have stated their reasons; but they did not pay any heed to the opinion of mankind, and the reckoning will come when the settlement comes.

So, gentlemen, I am willing, no matter what my personal fortunes may be, to play for the verdict of mankind. Personally, it will be a matter of indifference to me what the verdict on the 7th of November is, provided I feel any degree of confidence that when a later jury sits I shall get their judgment in my favor. Not in my favor personally—what difference does that make?—but in my favor as an honest and conscientious spokesman of a great nation. There are some gentlemen who are under the delusion that the power of a nation comes from the top. It does not. It comes from the bottom.

The power and virtue of the tree does not come from the blossom and the fruit down into the roots, but it comes from the roots in the obscure passages of the earth where the power is derived, which displays itself in the blossom and the fruit; and I know that among the silent, speechless masses of the American people is slowly coming up the great sap of moral purpose and love of justice and reverence for humanity which constitutes the only virtue and distinction of the American people. Look for your rulers of the future! Can you pick out the families that are going to produce them? Can you pick out the localities that are going to produce them?

You have heard what has just been said about Abraham Lincoln. It is singular how touching every reference to Abraham Lincoln is. It always makes you feel that you wish you had been there to help him in some fashion to fight the battles that he was fighting, sometimes almost alone. Could you have predicted, if you had seen Abraham Lincoln's birth and boyhood, where that great ruling figure of the world was going to spring from?

I have presided over a university, but I never deceived myself by supposing that by university processes you were producing the ruling forces of the world. I knew that all a university could do if it knew its business was to interpret the moral forces of the world and let the young man, who sat under its influence, know the very truth of truths about where it came from, and that no man could produce it unless he felt in his blood every corpuscle spring into delighted life with the mention of the ideals which have lifted men slowly, oh, so slowly, up the arduous grades, that have resisted the progress since the world began.

So, gentlemen, I have not come here tonight to do anything but

to remind you that you do not constitute the United States; that I do not constitute the United States; that it is something bigger and greater and finer than any of us; that it was born in an ideal, and only by pursuing an ideal in the face of every adverse circumstance will it continue to deserve the beloved name which we love and for which we are ready to die, the name "America."

[Markets of the World for America's Goods; Delivered before the Salesmanship Congress, at Detroit, Mich., July 10, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is with a great deal of gratification that I find myself facing so interesting and important a company as this. You will readily understand that I have not come here to make an elaborate address, but I have come here to express my interest in the objects of this great association, and to congratulate you on the opportunities which are immediately ahead of you in handling the business of this country.

These are days of incalculable change, my fellow citizens. It is impossible for anybody to predict anything that is certain, in detail, with regard to the future either of this country or of the world in the large movements of business; but one thing is perfectly clear, and that is that the United States will play a new part, and that it will be a part of unprecedented opportunity and of greatly increased responsibility.

The United States has had a very singular history in respect of its business relationships with the rest of the world. I have always believed, and I think you have always believed, that there is more business genius in the United States than anywhere else in the world; and yet America has apparently been afraid of touching too intimately the great processes of international exchange. America, of all countries in the world, has been timid; has not until recently, has not until within the last two or three years, provided itself with the fundamental instrumentalities for playing a large part in the trade of the world. America, which ought to have had the broadest vision of any nation, has raised up an extraordinary number of provincial thinkers, men who thought provincially about business, men who thought that the United States was not ready to take her competitive part in the struggle for the peaceful conquest of the world. For anybody who reflects philosophically upon the history of this country, that is the most amazing fact about it.

But the time for provincial thinkers has gone by. We must play a great part in the world whether we choose it or not. Do you know the significance of this single fact, that within the last year or two we have, speaking in large terms, ceased to be a debtor nation and become a creditor nation? We have more of the surplus gold of the world than we ever had before, and our business hereafter is to be to lend and to help and to promote the great peaceful enterprises of the

world. We have got to finance the world in some important degree, and those who finance the world must understand it and rule it with their spirits and with their minds. We can not cabin and confine ourselves any longer, and so I said that I came here to congratulate you upon the great rôle that lies ahead of you to play. This is a salesmanship congress, and hereafter salesmanship will have to be closely related in its outlook and scope to statesmanship, to international statesmanship. It will have to be touched with an intimate comprehension of the conditions of business and enterprise throughout the round globe, because America will have to place her goods by running her intelligence ahead of her goods. No amount of mere push, no amount of mere hustling, or, to speak in the western language, no amount of mere rustling, no amount of mere active enterprise, will suffice.

There have been two ways of doing business in the world outside of the lands in which the great manufactures have been made. One has been to try to force the tastes of the manufacturing country on the country in which the markets were being sought, and the other way has been to study the tastes and needs of the countries where the markets were being sought and suit your goods to those tastes and needs; and the latter method has beaten the former method. If you are going to sell carpets, for example, in India, you have got to have as good taste as the Indians in the patterns of the carpets, and that is going some. If you are going to sell things in tropical countries, they must, rather obviously, be different from those which you sell in cold and arctic countries. You can not assume that the rest of the world is going to wear or use or manufacture what you wear and use and manufacture. Your raw materials must be the raw materials that they need, not the raw materials that you need. Your manufactured goods must be the manufactured goods which they desire, not those which other markets have desired. So your business will keep pace with your knowledge, not of yourself and of your manufacturing processes, but of them and of their commercial needs. That is statesmanship, because that is relating your international activities to the conditions which exist in other countries.

If we can once get what some gentlemen are so loath to give us, a merchant marine! The trouble with some men is that they are slow in their minds. They do not see; they do not know the need, and they will not allow you to point it out to them. If we can once get in a position to deliver our own goods, then the goods that we have to deliver will be adjusted to the desires of those to whom we deliver them, and all the world will welcome America in the great field of commerce and manufacture.

There is a great deal of cant talked, my fellow citizens, about service.

I wish the word had not been surrounded with so much sickly sentimentality, because it is a good, robust, red-blooded word, and it is the key to everything that concerns the peace and prosperity of the world. You can not force yourself upon anybody who is not obliged to take you. The only way in which you can be sure of being accepted is by being sure that you have got something to offer that is worth taking, and the only way you can be sure of that is by being sure that you wish to adapt it to the use and the service of the people to whom you are trying to sell.

I was trying to expound in another place the other day the long way and the short way to get together. The long way is to fight. I hear some gentlemen say that they want to help Mexico, and the way they propose to help her is to overwhelm her with force. That is the long way to help Mexico as well as the wrong way. After the fighting you have a nation full of justified suspicion and animated by well-founded hostility and hatred, and then will you help them? Then will you establish cordial business relationships with them? Then will you go in as neighbors and enjoy their confidence? On the contrary, you will have shut every door as if it were of steel against you. What makes Mexico suspicious of us is that she does not believe as yet that we want to serve her. She believes that we want to possess her, and she has justification for the belief in the way in which some of our fellow-citizens have tried to exploit her privileges and possessions. For my part, I will not serve the ambitions of these gentlemen, but I will try to serve all America, so far as intercourse with Mexico is concerned, by trying to serve Mexico herself. There are some things that are not debatable. Of course, we have to defend our border. That goes without saying. Of course, we must make good our own sovereignty, but we must respect the sovereignty of Mexico. I am one of those—I have sometimes suspected that there were not many of them—who believe, absolutely believe, the Virginia Bill of Rights, which was the model of the old bill of rights, which says that a people has a right to do anything they please with their own country and their own government. I am old-fashioned enough to believe that, and I am going to stand by that belief. (That is for the benefit of those gentlemen who wish to butt in.)

Now, I use that as an illustration, my fellow citizens. What do we all most desire when the present tragical confusion of the world's affairs is over? We desire permanent peace, do we not? Permanent peace can grow in only one soil. That is the soil of actual good will, and good will can not exist without mutual comprehension. Charles Lamb, the English writer, made a very delightful remark that I have long treasured in my memory. He stuttered a little bit, and he said of some one who was not present, "I h-h-hate that m-man;" and some

one said, "Why, Charles, I didn't know you knew him." "Oh," he said, "I-I-I don't; I-I can't h-hate a m-man I know." That is a profound human remark. You can not hate a man you know. I know some rascals whom I have tried to hate. I have tried to head them off as rascals, but I have been unable to hate them. I have liked them. And so, not to compare like with unlike, in the relationship of nations with each other, many of our antagonisms are based upon misunderstandings, and as long as you do not understand a country you can not trade with it. As long as you can not take its point of view you can not commend your goods to its purchase. As long as you go to it with a supercilious air, for example, and patronize it, as we have tried to do in some less developed countries, and tell them that this is what they ought to want whether they want it or not, you can not do business with them. You have got to approach them just as you really ought to approach all matters of human relationship.

Those people who give their money to philanthropy, for example, but can not for the life of them see from the point of view of those for whose benefit they are giving the money are not philanthropists. They endow and promote philanthropy, but you can not be a philanthropist unless you love all sorts and conditions of men. The great barrier in this world, I have sometimes thought, is not the barrier of principle, but the barrier of taste. Certain classes of society find certain other classes of society distasteful to them. They do not like the way they dress. They do not like the infrequency with which they bathe. They do not like to consort with them under the conditions under which they live, and, therefore, they stand at a distance from them, and it is impossible for them to serve them. They do not understand them and do not feel that common pulse of humanity and that common school of experience which is the only thing that binds us together and educates us in the same fashion.

This, then, my friends, is the simple message that I bring you. Lift your eyes to the horizons of business; do not look too close at the little processes with which you are concerned, but let your thoughts and your imaginations run abroad throughout the whole world, and with the inspiration of the thought that you are Americans and are meant to carry liberty and justice and the principles of humanity wherever you go, go out and sell goods that will make the world more comfortable and more happy, and convert them to the principles of America.

At the luncheon held in the afternoon, President Wilson was again introduced and spoke as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN, JUDGE MURPHY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am glad to find myself in Detroit and face to face with the men who have

played the principal part in giving it distinction throughout the country and throughout the world. Looking about among you, I see that it is true in this matter, as in others, that the only men fit for such a job are young men and men who never grow old. There is the liveliness of youth in the eyes even of those of you who have shared with me the painful parting with the hirsute appendage.

I have been interested in some things that Mr. Denby has said to me to-day. He has shamefacedly admitted that he has found himself enjoying the companionship of Democrats. Now, I have long enjoyed the friendship and companionship of Republicans, because I am by instinct a teacher and I would like to teach them something. We have been trying, some of us, for a good many years to teach in politics, as well as elsewhere, this lesson, that we are all in the same boat; we have common interests, and it is our business to understand and serve those common interests. The great difficulty that has confronted us, gentlemen, has often been that we have deliberately looked at these common interests from self-chosen angles, which made them look as if some of us were separated from others; as if some of us wanted to depress business, for example, and others of us wanted to exalt business. I dare say that you have noticed that the same necessity to make a living is imposed upon Democrats as Republicans, and I dare say you are ready to believe that Democrats are just as willing to make a good living as Republicans. Therefore, it seems to me logically to follow, though I have been quoted as having no regard for logic, that Democrats are naturally as much interested in the business prosperity of the United States as anybody else. So that if you believe that they are not as fitted to guide it as other persons, you can not be doubting their interest; you are only impugning their intelligence.

And some Democrats had noticed that the inclination to suppose that only some persons understood the business of America had a tendency to run into the assumption that the number of persons who understood that business was very small, and that there were only certain groups and associations of gentlemen who were entitled to be trustees of that business for the rest of us. I have never subscribed, in any walk of life, to the trustee theory. I have always been inclined to believe that the business of the world was best understood by those men who were in the struggle for maintenance not only, but for success. The man who knows the strength of the tide is the man who is swimming against it, not the man who is floating with it. The man who is immersed in the beginnings of business, who is trying to get his foothold, who is trying to get other men to believe in him and lend him money and trust him to make profitable use of that money, is the man who knows what the business conditions in the United

States are, and I would rather take his counsel as to what ought to be done for business than the counsel of any established captain of industry. The captain of industry is looking backward and the other man is looking forward. The conditions of business change with every generation; change with every decade; are now changing at an almost breathless pace, and the men who have made good are not feeling the tides as the other men are feeling them. The men who have got into the position of captaincy, unless they are of unusual fiber, unless they are of unusually catholic sympathy, unless they have continued to touch shoulder with the ranks, unless they have continued to keep close communion with the men they are employing and the young men they are bringing up as their assistants, do not belong to the struggle in which we should see that every unreasonable obstacle is removed and every reasonable help afforded that public policy can afford.

So I invite your thoughts, in what I sincerely believe to be an entirely nonpartisan spirit, to the democracy of business. An act was recently passed in Congress that some of the most intelligent business men of this country earnestly opposed,—men whom I knew, men whose character I trusted, men whose integrity I absolutely believed in. I refer to the Federal Reserve Act, by which we intended to take, and succeeded in taking credit out of the control of a small number of men and making it available to everybody who had real commercial assets, and the very men who opposed that act, and opposed it conscientiously, now admit that it saved the country from a ruinous panic when the stress of war came on, and that it is the salvation of every average business man who is in the midst of the tides that I have been trying to describe. What does that mean, gentlemen? It means that you can get a settled point of view and can conscientiously oppose progress if you do not need progress yourself. That is what it means. I am not impugning the intelligence even of the men who opposed these things, because the same thing happens to every man if he is not of extraordinary make-up, if he can not see the necessity for a thing that he does not himself need. When you have abundant credit and control of credit, you, of course, do not need that the area of credit should be broadened.

The suspicion is beginning to dawn in many quarters that the average man knows the business necessities of the country just as well as the extraordinary man does. I believe in the ordinary man. If I did not believe in the ordinary man I would move out of a democracy and, if I found an endurable monarchy, I would live in it. The very conception of America is based upon the validity of the judgments of the average man, and I call you to witness that there have not been many catastrophes in American history. I call you to wit-

ness that the average judgments of the voters of the United States have been sound judgments. I call you to witness that this great impulse of the common opinion has been a lifting impulse, and not a depressing impulse. What is the object of associations like that which is gathered here to-day, this Salesmanship Congress? The moral of it is that a few men can not determine the interests of a large body of men, and that the only way to determine them and advance them is to have a representative assembly chosen by themselves get together and take common counsel regarding them. And do you not notice that in every great occupation in the United States there is beginning to be more and more of this common counsel? And have you not noticed that the more common counsel you have the higher the standards are that are insisted upon?

I attended the other day the Congress of the Advertising Men, and their motto is "Truth and fair dealing in what you represent your business to be and your goods to be." I have no doubt that in every association like this the prevailing sentiment is that only by the highest standards—I mean the highest moral standards—can you achieve the most permanent and satisfactory business results. Was that the prevalent conception before these associations were drawn together? Have you not found the moral judgment of the average man steady the whole process and clarify it? Do you not know more after every conference with your fellows than you did before? I never went into a committee of any kind upon any important public matter, or private matter so far as that is concerned, that I did not come out with an altered judgment and knowing much more about the matter than when I went in; and not only knowing much more, but knowing that the common judgment arrived at was better than I could have suggested when I went in. That is the universal experience of candid men. If it were not so, there would be no object in congresses like this. Yet whenever we attempt legislation, we find ourselves in this case: We are not in the presence of the many who can counsel wisely, but we are in the presence of the few who counsel too narrowly, and the means by which we have been trying to break away from that is not by excluding these gentlemen who constituted the narrow circles of advice, but by associating them with hundreds of thousands of their fellow citizens.

I have had some say that I was not accessible to them, and when I inquired into it I found they meant that I did not personally invite them. They did not know how to come without being invited, and they did not care to come if they came upon the same terms with everybody else, knowing that everybody else was welcome whom I had the time to confer with.

Am I telling you things unobserved by you? Do you not know

that these things are true? And do you not believe with me that the affairs of the Nation can be better conducted upon the basis of general counsel than upon the basis of special counsel? Men are colored and governed by their occupations and their surroundings and their habits. If I wanted to change the law radically, I would not consult a lawyer. If I wanted to change business methods radically, I would not consult a man who had made a conspicuous success by using the present methods that I wanted to change. Not because I would distrust these men, but because I would know that they would not change their thinking over night, that they would have to go through a long process of reacquaintance with the circumstances of the time, the new circumstances of the time, before they could be converted to my point of view. You get a good deal more light on the street than you do in the closet. You get a good deal more light by keeping your ears open among the rank and file of your fellow citizens than you do in any private conference whatever. I would rather hear what the men are talking about on the trains and in the shops and by the fireside than hear anything else, because I want guidance and I know I could get it there, and what I am constantly asking is that men should bring me that counsel, because I am not privileged to determine things independently of this counsel. I am your servant, not your ruler.

One thing that we are now trying to convert the small circles to that the big circles are already converted to is that this country needs a merchant marine and ought to get one. I have found that I had a great deal more resistance when I tried to help business than when I tried to interfere with it. I have had a great deal more resistance of counsel, of special counsel, when I tried to alter the things that are established than when I tried to do anything else. We call ourselves a liberal nation, whereas, as a matter of fact, we are one of the most conservative nations in the world. If you want to make enemies, try to change something. You know why it is. To do things to-day exactly the way you did them yesterday saves thinking. It does not cost you anything. You have acquired the habit; you know the routine; you do not have to plan anything, and it frightens you with a hint of exertion to learn that you will have to do it a different way to-morrow. Until I became a college teacher, I used to think that the young men were radical, but college boys are the greatest conservatives I ever tackled in my life, largely because they have associated too much with their fathers. What you have to do with them is to take them up upon some visionary height and show them the map of the world as it is. Do not let them see their father's factory. Do not let them see their father's countinghouse. Let them see the great valleys teeming with laborious people. Let them see

the great struggle of men in realms they never dreamed of. Let them see the great emotional power that is in the world, the great ambitions, the great hopes, the great fears. Give them some picture of mankind, and then their father's business and every other man's business will begin to fall into place. They will see that it is an item and not the whole thing; and they will sometimes see that the item is not properly related to the whole, and what they will get interested in will be to relate the item to the whole, so that it will form part of the force, and not part of the impediment.

This country, above every country in the world, gentlemen, is meant to lift; it is meant to add to the forces that improve. It is meant to add to everything that betters the world, that gives it better thinking, more honest endeavor, a closer grapple of man with man, so that we will all be pulling together like one irresistible team in a single harness. That is the reason why it seemed wise to substitute for the harsh process of the law, which merely lays its hand on your shoulder after you have sinned and threatens you with punishment, some of the milder and more helpful processes of counsel. That is the reason the Federal Trade Commission was established,—so that men would have some place where they could take counsel as to what the law was and what the law permitted; and also take counsel as to whether the law itself was right and advice had not better be taken as to its alteration. The processes of counsel are the only processes of accommodation, not the processes of punishment. Punishment retards but it does not lift up. Punishment impedes but it does not improve. And we ought to substitute for the harsh processes of the law, wherever we can, the milder and gentler and more helpful processes of counsel.

It has been a very grief to some of us, year after year, year after year, to see a fundamental thing like the fiscal policy of the Government with regard to duties on imports made a football of politics. Why, gentlemen, party politics ought to have nothing to do with the question of what is for the benefit of the business of the United States, and that is the reason we ought to have a tariff commission, and, I may add, are going to have a tariff commission. But, then, gentlemen, the trouble will be upon me. The provision as it stands makes it obligatory upon me not to choose more than half the commission from any one political party. The bill does not undertake to say how many political parties there are. That just now is a delicate question. But I am forbidden to take more than two of the same variety, and yet the trouble about that is I would like to find men for that commission who were of no one of the varieties. I would like to find men who would find out the circumstances of American business, particularly as it changes and is going to change with perplex-

ing rapidity in the years immediately ahead of us, without any regard whatever to the interest of any party whatever, so that we should be able to legislate upon the facts and upon the large economic aspects of those facts without stopping to think which party it was going to hurt and which party it was going to benefit. But almost everybody in this country wears a label of some kind, and under the law I suppose I will have to turn them around and see how they are labeled, how they are branded; and that is going to be a very great blow to my spirit and a very great test of my judgment. I hope, after the results are achieved, you will judge me leniently, because my desire would be not to have a bipartisan but an absolutely nonpartisan commission of men who really applied the tests of scientific analysis of the facts and no other tests whatever to the conclusions that they arrived at.

Did you ever think how absolutely supreme and sovereign facts are? You can make laws all the year through contrary to the facts and the facts will overrun the laws. Do not let a fact catch you napping, because you will get the worst of it if you do; and the object of the tariff commission is that we should see the facts coming first, so that they could not get us. I remember a cynical politician saying to me once, when I was thanking him for having voted the way I hoped he would vote, knowing that that had not been his initial inclination, "Well, Governor, they never get me if I see them coming first." He had heard from home, and he saw them coming. Now, I have that attitude toward facts. I never let them get me if I see them first, and it is because I want to see them that I want commissions of this sort and the spirit of this sort that I have tried to describe in the commission as it is constituted.

Because, as I was saying this morning, there is a task ahead of us of most colossal difficulty. We have not been accustomed to the large world of international business and we have got to get accustomed to it right away. All provincials have got to take a back seat. All men who are afraid of competition have got to take a back seat. All men who depend upon anything except their intelligence and their efficiency have got to take a back seat. It will be interesting to see the sifting process go on. I have some men in mind to nominate for back seats, and I will not draw all of them from the same party. It will not need an act of Congress for that purpose. And some men are going to be surprised at the keenness of the air into which they are thrust out. They are going to be thrust out, and we are either going to make conquest, peaceful conquest, of the markets of the world or we are going to be prevented forevermore of boasting of the business ability of America. I have never been afraid of trusting an American business man out in the air,

but some men have. They have said, "Give us a wall to crouch behind for fear these fellows should get us," and when it has come to finding out who were crouching behind the wall, it was found that all sorts were crouching behind the wall, the capable and the incapable, and that the main object of the wall was to shelter the incapable.

As an American I am too proud to submit to anything like that. I believe that Americans can manufacture goods better than anybody else; that they can sell goods as honestly as anybody else; that they can find out the conditions and meet the conditions of foreign business better than anybody else, and I want to see them given a chance right away, and they will be whether I want them to be or not. We have been trying to get ready for it. The national banks of the United States, until the recent Currency Act, were held back by the very terms of the law under which they operated from some of the most important international transactions. To my mind that is one of the most amazing facts of our commercial history. The Congress of the United States was not willing that the national banks should have a latchkey and go away from home. They were afraid they would not know how to get back under cover, and banks from other countries had to establish branches where American bankers were doing business, to take care of some of the most important processes of international exchange. That is nothing less than amazing, but it is not necessary any longer. It never was necessary; it was only thought to be necessary by some eminently provincial statesmen. We are done with provincialism in the statesmanship of the United States, and we have got to have a view now and a horizon as wide as the world itself. And when I look around upon an alert company like this, it seems to me in my imagination they are almost straining at the leash. They are waiting to be let loose upon this great race that is now going to challenge our abilities. For my part, I shall look forward to the result with absolute and serene confidence, because the spirit of the United States is an international spirit, if we conceive it right. This is not the home of any particular race of men. This is not the home of any particular set of political traditions. This is a home the doors of which have been opened from the first to mankind, to everybody who loved liberty, to everybody whose ideal was equality of opportunity, to everybody whose heart was moved by the fundamental instincts and sympathies of humanity. That is America, and now it is as if the nations of the world, sampled and united here, were in their new union and new common understanding turning about to serve the world with all the honest processes of business and of enterprise. I am happy that I should be witnessing the dawn of the day when America is indeed to come into her own.

[Peace the Nation's Aim, Preparedness Is Not Hostility; Delivered in Toledo, Ohio, July 10, 1916.]

MY FELLOW CITIZENS: This is an entire surprise party to me. I did not know I was going to have the pleasure of stopping long enough to address any number of you, but I am very glad indeed to give you my very cordial greetings and to express my very great interest in this interesting city.

General Sherwood said that there were many things we agreed about, there is one thing we disagree about. General Sherwood has been opposing preparedness, and I have been advocating it, and I am very sorry to have found him on the other side. Because, I think, you will bear me witness, fellow citizens, that in advocating preparedness I have not been advocating hostility. You will bear me witness that I have been a persistent friend of peace and that nothing but unmistakable necessity will drive me from that position. I think it is a matter of sincere congratulation to us that our neighbor Republic to the south shows evidences of at last believing in our friendly intentions; that while we must protect our border and see to it that our sovereignty is not impugned, we are ready to respect their sovereignty also, and to be their friends, and not their enemies.

The real uses of intelligence, my fellow citizens, are the uses of peace. Any body of men can get up a row, but only an intelligent body of men can get together and cooperate. Peace is not only a test of a nation's patience; it is also a test of whether the nation knows how to conduct its relations or not. It takes time to do intelligent things, and it does not take any time to do unintelligent things. I can lose my temper in a minute, but it takes me a long time to keep it, and I think that if you were to subject my Scotch-Irish blood to the proper kind of analysis, you would find that it was fighting blood, and that it is pretty hard for a man born that way to keep quiet and do things in the way in which his intelligence tells him he ought to do them. I know just as well as that I am standing here that I represent and am the servant of a Nation that loves peace, and that loves it upon the proper basis; loves it not because it is afraid of anybody; loves it not because it does not understand and mean to maintain its rights, but because it knows that humanity is something in which we are all linked together, and that it behooves the United States, just as long as it is possible, to hold off from becoming involved in a strife which makes it all the more necessary that some part of the world should keep cool while all the rest of it is hot. Here in America, for the time being, are the spaces, the cool spaces, of thoughtfulness, and so long as we are allowed to do so, we will serve and not contend with the rest of our fellow men. We are the more inclined to do this because the very principles upon which our Government is based are principles of common counsel and not of contest.

So, my fellow citizens, I congratulate myself upon this opportunity, brief as it is, to give you my greetings and to convey to you my congratulations that the signs that surround us are all signs of peace.

[Citizenship in America; Delivered at the Citizenship Convention in Wilson Normal School Building, Washington, D. C., July 13, 1916.]

Mr. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have come here for the simple purpose of expressing my very deep interest in what these conferences are intended to attain. It is not fair to the great multitudes of hopeful men and women who press into this country from other countries that we should leave them without that friendly and intimate instruction which will enable them very soon after they come to find out what America is like at heart and what America is intended for among the nations of the world.

I believe that the chief school that these people must attend after they get here is the school which all of us attend, which is furnished by the life of the communities in which we live and the nation to which we belong. It has been a very touching thought to me sometimes to think of the hopes which have drawn these people to America. I have no doubt that many a simple soul has been thrilled by that great statue standing in the harbor of New York and seeming to lift the light of liberty for the guidance of the feet of men; and I can imagine that they have expected here something ideal in the treatment that they will receive, something ideal in the laws which they would have to live under, and it has caused me many a time to turn upon myself the eye of examination to see whether there burned in me the true light of the American spirit which they expected to find here. It is easy, my fellow-citizens, to communicate physical lessons, but it is very difficult to communicate spiritual lessons. America was intended to be a spirit among the nations of the world, and it is the purpose of conferences like this to find out the best way to introduce the newcomers to this spirit, and by that very interest in them to enhance and purify in ourselves the thing that ought to make America great and not only ought to make her great, but ought to make her exhibit a spirit unlike any other nation in the world.

I have never been among those who felt comfortable in boasting of the superiority of America over other countries. The way to cure yourself of that is to travel in other countries and find out how much of nobility and character and fine enterprise there is everywhere in the world. The most that America can hope to do is to show, it may be, the finest example, not the only example, of the things that ought to benefit and promote the progress of the world.

So my interest in this movement is as much an interest in ourselves as in those whom we are trying to Americanize, because if we are genuine Americans they cannot avoid the infection; whereas,

if we are not genuine Americans, there will be nothing to infect them with, and no amount of teaching, no amount of exposition of the Constitution,—which I find very few persons understand,—no amount of dwelling upon the idea of liberty and of justice will accomplish the object we have in view, unless we ourselves illustrate the idea of justice and of liberty. My interest in this movement is, therefore, a two-fold interest. I believe it will assist us to become self-conscious in respect of the fundamental ideas of American life. When you ask a man to be loyal to a government, if he comes from some foreign countries, his idea is that he is expected to be loyal to a certain set of persons like a ruler or a body set in authority over him, but that is not the American idea. Our idea is that he is to be loyal to certain objects in life, and that the only reason he has a President and a Congress and a Governor and a State Legislature and courts is that the community shall have instrumentalities by which to promote those objects. It is a cooperative organization expressing itself in this Constitution, expressing itself in these laws, intending to express itself in the exposition of those laws by the courts; and the idea of America is not so much that men are to be restrained and punished by the law as instructed and guided by the law. That is the reason so many hopeful reforms come to grief. A law cannot work until it expresses the spirit of the community for which it is enacted, and if you try to enact into law what expresses only the spirit of a small coterie or of a small minority, you know, or at any rate you ought to know, beforehand that it is not going to work. The object of the law is that there, written upon these pages, the citizen should read the record of the experience of this state and nation; what they have concluded it is necessary for them to do because of the life they have lived and the things that they have discovered to be elements in that life. So that we ought to be careful to maintain a government at which the immigrant can look with the closest scrutiny and to which he should be at liberty to address this question: "You declare this to be a land of liberty and of equality and of justice; have you made it so by your law?" We ought to be able in our schools, in our night schools and in every other method of instructing these people, to show them that that has been our endeavor. We cannot conceal from them long the fact that we are just as human as any other nation, that we are just as selfish, that there are just as many mean people amongst us as anywhere else, that there are just as many people here who want to take advantage of other people as you can find in other countries, just as many cruel people, just as many people heartless when it comes to maintaining and promoting their own interest; but you can show that our object is to get these people in harness and see to it that they do not do any damage and are not allowed to indulge the passions

which would bring injustice and calamity at last upon a nation whose object is spiritual and not material.

America has built up a great body of wealth. America has become, from the physical point of view, one of the most powerful nations in the world, a nation which if it took the pains to do so, could build that power up into one of the most formidable instruments in the world, one of the most formidable instruments of force, but which has no other idea than to use its force for ideal objects and not for self-aggrandizement.

We have been disturbed recently, my fellow-citizens, by certain symptoms which have showed themselves in our body politic. Certain men,—I have never believed a great number,—born in other lands, have in recent months thought more of those lands than they have of the honor and interest of the government under which they are now living. They have even gone so far as to draw apart in spirit and organization from the rest of us to accomplish some special object of their own. I am not here going to utter any criticism of these people, but I want to say this, that such a thing as that is absolutely incompatible with the fundamental idea of loyalty, and that loyalty is not a self-pleasing virtue. I am not bound to be loyal to the United States to please myself. I am bound to be loyal to the United States because I live under its laws and am its citizen, and whether it hurts me or whether it benefits me, I am obliged to be loyal. Loyalty means nothing unless it has at its heart the absolute principle of self-sacrifice. Loyalty means that you ought to be ready to sacrifice every interest that you have, and your life itself, if your country calls upon you to do so, and that is the sort of loyalty which ought to be inculcated into these newcomers, that they are not to be loyal only so long as they are pleased, but that, having once entered into this sacred relationship, they are bound to be loyal whether they are pleased or not; and that loyalty which is merely self-pleasing is only self-indulgence and selfishness. No man has ever risen to the real stature of spiritual manhood until he has found that it is finer to serve somebody else than it is to serve himself.

These are the conceptions which we ought to teach the newcomers into our midst, and we ought to realize that the life of every one of us is part of the schooling, and that we cannot preach loyalty unless we set the example, that we cannot profess things with any influence upon others unless we practice them also. This process of Americanization is going to be a process of self-examination, a process of purification, a process of rededication to the things which America represents and is proud to represent. And it takes a great deal more courage and steadfastness, my fellow-citizens, to represent ideal things than to represent anything else. It is easy to lose your temper, and

hard to keep it. It is easy to strike and sometimes very difficult to refrain from striking, and I think you will agree with me that we are most justified in being proud of doing the things that are hard to do and not the things that are easy. You do not settle things quickly by taking what seems to be the quickest way to settle them. You may make the complication just that much the more profound and inextricable, and, therefore, what I believe America should exalt above everything else is the sovereignty of thoughtfulness and sympathy and vision as against the grosser impulses of mankind. No nation can live without vision, and no vision will exalt a nation except the vision of real liberty and real justice and purity of conduct.

[Commerce and the Trade Commission; Delivered before the Grain Dealers' Association at a Meeting in Baltimore, Md., Sept. 25, 1916.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSOCIATION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is a matter of sincere gratification to me that I can come and address an association of this sort, and yet I feel that there is a certain drawback to the present occasion. That drawback consists of the fact that it occurs in the midst of a political campaign. Nothing so seriously interrupts or interferes with the sober and sincere consideration of public questions as a political campaign. I want to say to you at the outset that I believe in *party* action, but that I have a supreme contempt for *partisan* action; that I believe that it is necessary for men to concert measures together in organized co-operation by party, but that whenever party feeling touches any one of the passions that work against the general interest, it is altogether to be condemned. Therefore, I feel that on occasions like this we should divest ourselves of the consciousness that we are in the midst of a political campaign, because associations like this are not gathered together to take part in partisan discussion, but to consider those permanent interests of the Nation which concern us all the time, which do not alter their aspects because parties are contesting for power; and that we ought as much as possible on all occasions to think of ourselves as first of all men devoted to the welfare of the country and as compared with that devoted to nothing else whatever.

What I have come to say to you to-day, therefore, I would wish to say in an atmosphere from which all the vapors of passions have been cleared away, for I want to speak to you about the business situation of the world, so far as America is concerned. I am not going to take the liberty of discussing that business situation from the special point of view of your association, because I know that I would be bringing coals to Newcastle. I know that I am speaking to men who understand the relation of the grain business to the business of the world very much better than I do; and I know that it is true that, except under very unusual circumstances such as have existed in the imme-

diate past, the export of grain from this country has been a diminishing part of our foreign commerce rather than an increasing part; that the increase of our own population,—the decrease in proportion to that increase, of our production of grains,—has been rendering the question of foreign markets less important, though still very important, than it was in past generations, so far as the dealing in grain is concerned. I also remember, however, that we have only begun in this country the process by which the full production of our agricultural acreage is to be obtained. The agricultural acreage of this country ought to produce twice what it is now producing, and under the stimulation and instruction which have recently been characteristic of agricultural development I think we can confidently predict that within, let us say, a couple of decades the agricultural production of this country will be something like double, whereas, there is no likelihood that the population of this country will be doubled within the same period. You can look forward, therefore, it seems to me, with some degree of confidence to an increasing, and perhaps a rapidly increasing, volume of the products in which you deal.

But, as I have said, I have not come to discuss that. I have come to discuss the general relation of the United States to the business of the world in the decades immediately ahead of us. We have swung out, my fellow citizens, into a new business era in America. I suppose that there is no man connected with your association who does not remember the time when the whole emphasis of American business discussion was laid upon the domestic market. I need not remind you how recently it has happened that our attention has been extended to the markets of the world; much less recently, I need not say, in the matters with which you are concerned than in the other export interests of the country. But it happened that American production, not only in the agricultural field and in mining and in all the natural products of the earth, but also in manufacture, increased in recent years to such a volume that American business burst its jacket. It could not any longer be taken care of within the field of the domestic market; and when that began to disclose itself as the situation, we also became aware that American business men had not studied foreign markets, that they did not know the commerce of the world, and that they did not have the ships in which to take their proportionate part in the carrying trade of the world; that our merchant marine had sunk to a negligible amount, and that it had sunk to its lowest at the very time when the tide of our exports began to grow in most formidable volume.

One of the most interesting circumstances of our business history is this: The banking laws of the United States,—I mean the federal banking laws,—did not put the national banks in a position to do foreign exchange under favorable conditions, and it was actually true

that private banks, and sometimes branch banks drawn out of other countries, notably out of Canada, would establish at our chief ports to do what American bankers ought to have done. It was as if America was not only unaccustomed to touching all the nerves of the world's business, but was disinclined to touch them, and had not prepared the instrumentality by which it might take part in the great commerce of the round globe. Only in very recent years have we been even studying the problem of providing ourselves with the instrumentalities. Not until the recent legislation of Congress known as the federal reserve act were the federal banks of this country given the proper equipment through which they could assist American commerce, not only in our own country, but in any part of the world where they chose to set up branch institutions. British banks had been serving British merchants all over the world, German banks had been serving German merchants all over the world, and no national bank of the United States had been serving American merchants anywhere in the world except in the United States. We had, as it were, deliberately refrained from playing our part in the field in which we prided ourselves that we were most ambitious and most expert, the field of manufacture and of commerce. All that is past, and the scene has been changed by the events of the last two years, almost suddenly, and with a completeness that almost daunts the planning mind. Not only when this war is over, but now, America has her place in the world and must take her place in the world of finance and commerce upon a scale that she never dreamed of before.

My dream is that she will take her place in that great field in a new spirit which the world has never seen before; not the spirit of those who would exclude others, but the spirit of those who would excel others. I want to see America pitted against the world, not in selfishness, but in brains. The first thing that brains have to feed upon is knowledge, and when I hear men proposing to deal with the business problems of the United States in the future as we dealt with them in the past, I do not have to inquire any further whether they are equipped with knowledge. I dismiss them from the reckoning, because I know that the facts are going to dominate and they know nothing about the facts. And the most that we can supply ourselves with just now is, not the detailed program of policy, but the instrumentalities of gaining thorough knowledge of what we are about. Every man of us must for some time to come be "from Missouri!" We must want to know what the facts are, and when we know what the facts are we shall know what the policy ought to be.

What instrumentalities have we provided ourselves with in order that we may be equipped with knowledge? There has been an instrumentality in operation for four or five years of which, strangely enough,

American business men have only slowly become aware. Some four or five years ago the Congress established, in connection with the department which was then the Department of Commerce and Labor (now the Department of Commerce), a Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and one of the advantages which the American Government has derived from that bureau is that it has been able to hire brains for much less than the brains were worth. It is in a way a national discredit to us, my fellow citizens, that we are paying studious men, capable of understanding anything and of conducting any business, just about one-third of what they could command in the field of business; and it is one of the admirable circumstances of American life that they are proud to serve the Government on a pittance. There are such men in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. They have been studying the foreign commerce of this country as it was never studied before, and have been making reports so comprehensive and so thorough that they compare to their great advantage with the reports of any similar bureau of any other government in the world, and I have found to my amazement that some of the best of those reports seem never to have been read. All you have to do in order to find out the details of some of the greatest fields of activity in the world in the matter of business is to resort to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; but there again the phenomena that I have been speaking of have displayed themselves in a very remarkable way. It needed the catastrophe and the tragedy of this war to awaken American business men to the fact that these were the things which they must know and know at once.

And then, in addition to that, there was recently created the Federal Trade Commission. It is hard to describe the functions of that commission; all I can say is that it has transformed the Government of the United States from being an antagonist of business into being a friend of business. A few years ago American business men,—I think you will corroborate this statement,—took up their morning paper with some degree of nervousness to see what the Government was doing to them. I ask you if you take up the morning paper now with any degree of nervousness? And I ask you if you have not found, those of you who have dealt with it all, the Federal Trade Commission to be put there to show you the way in which the Government can help you and not the way in which the Government can hinder you?

But that is not the matter that I am most interested in. It has always been a fiction,—I don't know who invented it or why he invented it,—that there was a contest between the law and business. There has always been a contest in every government between the law and bad business and I do not want to see that contest softened in any way; but there has never been any contest between men who intended the

right thing and the men who administered the law. But what I want to speak about is this: One of the functions of the Federal Trade Commission is to inquire with the fullest powers ever conferred upon a similar commission in this country into all the circumstances of American business for the purpose of doing for American business exactly what the Department of Agriculture has so long and with increasing efficiency done for the farmer, inform the American business man of every element, big and little, with which it is his duty to deal. Here are created searching eyes of inquiry to do the very thing that it was imperatively necessary and immediately necessary that the country should do,—look upon the field of business and know what was going on!

And then, in the third place, you know that we have just now done what it was common sense to do about the tariff. We have not put this into words, but I do not hesitate to put it into words: We have admitted that on the one side and on the other we were talking theories and managing policies without a sufficient knowledge of the facts upon which we were acting, and, therefore, we have established what is intended to be a nonpartisan tariff commission to study the conditions with which legislation has to deal in the matter of the relations of American with foreign business transactions. Another eye created to see the facts! And I am hopeful that I can find the men who will see the facts and state them, no matter whose opinion these facts contradict. For an opinion ought always to have a profound respect for a fact; and when you once get the facts, opinions that are antagonistic to those facts are necessarily defeated. I have never found a really courageous man who was afraid to put his opinion to the test of facts, or a morally sincere man who was not ready to surrender to the facts when they were contrary to his opinion. The Tariff Commission is going to look for the facts no matter who is hurt. We are creating one after another the instrumentalities of knowledge, so that the business men of this country shall know what the field of the world's business is and deal with that field upon that knowledge.

Then, when the knowledge is obtained, what are we going to do? One of the things that interests me most about an association of this sort is that the intention of it is that the members should share a common body of information, and that they should concert among themselves those operations of business which are beneficial to all of them; that, instead of a large number of dealers in grain acting separately and each fighting for his own hand, you are willing to come together and study the problem as if you were partners and brothers and co-operators in this field of business. That has been going on in every occupation in the United States of any consequence. Even the men that do the advertising have been getting together, and they have made

this startling and fundamental discovery, that the only way to advertise successfully is to tell the truth. There are many reasons for that. One of the chief reasons is that when you get found out, it is worse for you than it was before; but the great reason, the sober reason, is that business must be founded on the truth, and you men get together in order to create a clearing house for the truth about your business.

Very well; that is a picture in small of what we must do in the large. We must co-operate in the whole field of business, the Government with the merchant, the merchant with his employee, the whole body of producers with the whole body of consumers, to see that the right things are produced in the right volume and find the right purchasers at the right place, and that, all working together, we realize that nothing can be for the individual benefit which is not for the common benefit.

You know that there was introduced in the House of Representatives recently a bill, commonly called the Webb bill, for the purpose of stating it as the policy of the law of the United States that nothing in the antitrust laws now existing should be interpreted to interfere with the proper sort of co-operation among exporters. The foreign field is not like the domestic field. The foreign field is full of combinations meant to be exclusive. The antitrust laws of the United States are intended to prevent any kind of combination in the United States which shall be exclusive of new enterprises within the United States, any combination which shall set up monopoly in America; but the export business is a very big business, a very complicated business, a very expensive business, and it ought to be possible, and it will be possible and legal, for men engaged in exporting to get together and manage it in group, so that they can manage it at an advantage instead of at a disadvantage as compared with foreign rivals. Not for the purpose of exclusive and monopolistic combination, but for the purpose of co-operation,*and there is a very wide difference there. I for myself despise monopoly, and I have an enthusiasm for co-operation. By co-operation I mean working along with anybody who is willing to work along with you under definite understandings and arrangements which will constitute a sound business program. There can be no jealousy of that, and if there had been time, I can say with confidence that this bill, which passed the House of Representatives, would have passed the Senate of the United States also. So that any obstacle that ingenious lawyers may find in the antitrust laws will be removed. I was a lawyer once myself before I reformed; I can divide a hair 'twixt north and northeast side, but I do not think it is worth while, and I do not think that statutes are the places for ingenuity. A statute is intended to lay down a broad and comprehensive and national policy, and it ought to be read in that light. But there would be no fun in punctuation if you had to read it that way! The purpose of legislation in the imme-

diate future in this country is going to be to remove all ingenious constructions and make it perfectly clear what the liberties as well as the restraints of trade are in this country.

And then there must be co-operation, not only between the Government and the business men, but between business men. Shippers must co-operate, and they ought to be studying right now how to co-operate. There are a great many gentlemen in other countries who can show them how! They ought to look forward, particularly, to caring for this matter, that they have vehicles in which to carry their goods. We must address ourselves immediately and as rapidly as possible to the re-creation of a great American merchant marine. Our present situation is very like this: Suppose that a man who had a great department store did not have any delivery wagons and depended upon his competitors in the same market to deliver his goods to his customers. You know what would happen. They would deliver their own goods first and quickest, and they would deliver yours only if yours were to be delivered upon the routes followed by their wagons. That is an exact picture of what is taking place in our foreign trade at this minute. Foreign vessels carry our goods where they, the foreign vessels, happen to be going, and they carry them only if they have room in addition to what they are carrying for other people. You can not conduct trade that way. That is conducting trade on sufferance. That is conducting trade on an "if you please." That is conducting trade on the basis of service the point of view of which is not your advantage. Therefore, we can not lose any time in getting delivery wagons.

There has been a good deal of discussion about this recently, and it has been said, "The Government must not take any direct part in this. You must let private capital do it," and the reply was, "All right, go ahead." "Oh, but we will not go ahead unless you help us." We said, "Very well, then, we will go ahead, but we will not need your help, because we do not want to compete where you are already doing the carrying business, but where you are not doing the carrying business and it has to be done for some time at a loss. We will undertake to do it at a loss until that route is established, and we will give place to private capital whenever private capital is ready to take the place." That sounds like a very reasonable proposition. "We will carry your goods one way when we have to come back empty the other way and lose money on the voyage, and when there are cargoes both ways and it is profitable to carry them, we shall not insist upon carrying them any longer."

And it is absolutely necessary now to make good our new connections. Our new connections are with the great and rich Republics to the south of us. For the first time in my recollection they are beginning to trust and believe in us and want us, and one of my chief

concerns has been to see that nothing was done that did not show friendship and good faith on our part. You know that it used to be the case that if you wanted to travel comfortably in your own person from New York to a South American port, you had to go by way of England or else stow yourself away in some uncomfortable fashion in a ship that took almost as long to go straight, and within whose bowels you got in such a temper before you got there that you did not care whether she got there or not. The great interesting geographical fact to me is that by the opening of the Panama Canal there is a straight line south from New York through the canal to the western coast of South America, which hitherto has been one of the most remote coasts in the world so far as we were concerned. The west coast of South America is now nearer to us than the eastern coast of South America ever was, though we have the open Atlantic upon which to approach the east coast. Here is the loom all ready upon which to spread the threads which can be worked into a fabric of friendship and wealth such as we have never known before!

The real wealth of foreign relationships, my fellow-citizens, whether they be the relationships of trade or any other kind of intercourse, the real wealth of those relationships is the wealth of mutual confidence and understanding. If we do not understand them and they do not understand us, we can not trade with them, much less be their friends, and it is only by weaving these intimate threads of connection that we shall be able to establish that fundamental thing, that psychological, spiritual *nexus* which is, after all, the real warp and woof of trade itself. We have got to have the knowledge, we have got to have the co-operation, and then back of all that has got to lie what America has in abundance and only has to release, that is to say, the self-reliant enterprise.

There is only one thing I have ever been ashamed of about in America, and that was the timidity and fearfulness of Americans in the presence of foreign competitors. I have dwelt among Americans all my life and am an intense absorbent of the atmosphere of America, and I know by personal experience that there are as effective brains in America as anywhere in the world. An American afraid to pit American business men against any competitors anywhere! Enterprise, the shrewdness which Americans have shown, the knowledge of business which they have shown, all these things are going to make for that peaceful and honorable conquest of foreign markets which is our reasonable ambition.

I spoke a moment ago of the Federal Trade Commission. In conference with various business associations, members of that commission have made this astonishing discovery, that in some fields of manufacture at any rate, not 10 per cent of the producers of America keep

accurate cost accounts. They do not know how much each part of their operation costs them. They have not analyzed their business in such a way as to know where economy can be substituted for waste, or where efficiency can take the place of inefficiency, and one of the things that is going to happen, now that we are going to be up against the expert cost accountants of the world, is that we are going to become first-class economists, and that American labor, already distinguished for its efficiency, is going to double and treble that efficiency. When that takes place and this great stimulating air of the world's competitive brains has wrought its effects upon us, we are going to be, I hope, what the world has never seen yet, a body of men who do not want to prevail by the backing of their Government but by the backing of their skill and knowledge.

A friend of mine was once invited to attend a peace meeting. He said he would come with pleasure if he might be permitted to explain that most of the men sitting on the platform were engaged in fomenting war, and when he was asked to explain this pleasing meaning, he said, "I have looked over the list of the men who constitute your executive committee and almost every one of them is engaged in doing things to excite the hostility and disturb the national feeling of men in foreign countries, particularly in the Orient, which will inevitably lead to war sooner or later." The competitions of the modern world that are lasting are not the competitions of physical force. They are the competitions of intellectual force. The competitions of business either lay the foundations of respect and mutual confidence or the foundations of suspicion and mutual hostility.

America has stood in the years past for that sort of political understanding among men which would let every man feel that his rights were the same as those of another and as good as those of another, and the mission of America in the field of the world's commerce is to be the same, that when an American comes into that competition he comes without any arms that would enable him to conquer by force, but only with those peaceful influences of intelligence, a desire to serve, a knowledge of what he is about, before which everything softens and yields and renders itself subject. That is the mission of America, and my interest, so far as my small part in American affairs is concerned, is to lend every bit of intelligence I have to this interesting, this vital, this all-important matter of releasing the intelligence of America for the service of mankind.

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RUSSIA

CHINA

JAPAN

PHILIPPINE
ISL.

AUSTRALIA

4396 M.

3379 M.

MIDWAY
ISL.

WAKE
ISL.

2251
SAMOA I.





